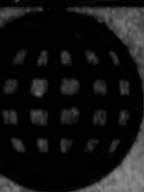


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KOMMUNIST

No 17, November 1988

Toward Cognition of Socialism. Answers to Questions Asked by KOMMUNIST

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[Interview with Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The International Scientific Conference "Topical Problems in the Development of Contemporary Socialism," which was held at the beginning of October in Moscow, triggered a great deal of public interest. KOMMUNIST asked V.A. Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, to answer some questions discussed in his address presented at the conference and relate them to problems of ideological work at the contemporary stage of perestroika.

[KOMMUNIST] Vadim Andreyevich, you were asked to head the ideological commission of the CPSU Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the Central Committee Plenum. There is legitimate interest in the basic trends and content of its work, its functions and relations with the Central Committee department.

[Medvedev] Let me note, above all, that something more essential lies behind the creation of commissions and other organizational resolutions of the September Central Committee Plenum: a step has been taken toward reforming the political system, as earmarked at the 19th Party Conference. The reform was initiated by the party with the adoption of very important crucial decisions on perestroika in the work of the elective authorities and the apparat, the central authorities above all.

Commissions are indeed something new in our system. They are based on the authority and experience of the party's Central Committee members. They will consist of Central Committee members and will be small. The commissions will be working under the direct guidance of the Politburo, studying major problems and formulating proposals. This is particularly necessary now, when the center of gravity is shifting to the solution of the complex and pressing problems of perestroika in the economic, social and ideological areas and in international relations. The commissions will play an active and important role in the discussion and solution of such problems. Naturally, in the course of studies, formulation of advice and submission of proposals, they will make use of scientists and specialists in the respective areas of knowledge. They will be helped—precisely, helped—by the Central Committee departments.

The apparat, as was mentioned at the 19th Conference, cannot substitute for an elective authority. It must be less cumbersome, more efficient and skilled. We know that it

took decades for the party apparat to be established. Each new major decision was accompanied by the creation of new subdivisions. The result was the type of structure of the machinery which seemed "to draw everything to itself," substituting for the system of state and economic management. Today the sectorial departments have been eliminated. New consolidated and integrated departments have been created, based on the role of the party as the political vanguard. Their functions have changed substantially. The main purpose of the changes is to abandon the principle of regional or sectorial management and deal less with paper shuffling and more with essential political problems.

As to the ideological department which I have been instructed to supervise, as chairman of the Central Committee Ideological Commission, it was formed on the basis of three of the previous departments: propaganda, culture, and science and educational institutions. Let me emphasize that this is not simply a mechanical combination but a process which should lead to the creation of a qualitatively new ideological apparatus and to changes in its functions, structure, and work style and methods. This is done above all precisely in connection with the creation of Central Committee commissions.

[KOMMUNIST] Could you discuss in somewhat greater detail the tasks pursued in ideological activities?

[Medvedev] In the area of ideological work the party's April line will be systematically implemented. It is a line of perestroika, democratization and glasnost. Since that time the party has been able to create within society an entirely different ideological atmosphere, an atmosphere of openness, freedom of opinions and views. The cleansing criticism helped us to see many contemporary problems, understand dramatic turns in history, reread its difficult and tragic pages, and acquire a feeling for the scale and depth of the problems which must be solved in the ideological area. However, criticism and glasnost alone do not suffice. Debates and arguments, as the experience in the first stage of perestroika has indicated, are becoming a constructive force if supplemented by improvements in the work.

Perestroika is entering a period which requires a more serious and more efficient ideological support of practical action. This applies more than and above anything else to the profound changes which have been initiated in production relations and in changes in the forms of ownership, the essence of which is to try, however difficult this may be, to revive the interest of individuals in their work and restore to them the social, economic and political status of owners.

People expect practical actions and tangible changes, above all in the social area. Hence the description given to the second stage of perestroika as the stage of practical action.

[KOMMUNIST] By this token do you not lower the significance of theory?

[Medvedev] Not in the least. In order for the people's energy, which was awakened by the party, to yield the necessary results, it is important to answer the question which affects all of us: what type of public building we are erecting in the course of perestroika would we like to see, a building for the sake of which we are issuing a call to action? Practical work should be highlighted by clear guidelines and implemented through efficient methods. Here as well our science must rise to its full magnitude. In this case I single out as being of prime importance the formulation of a contemporary concept of socialism.

Socialism is facing a historical challenge. It requires a profound qualitative renovation and increased dynamism. The new concept of socialism must not only be consistent with the realities of the end of the 20th century but also provide us with a notion of the nature of a more distant future in social development. This is a key task facing the entire theoretical front.

[KOMMUNIST] In this connection, Vadim Andreyevich, the following major question arises: What are we dealing with today? Are we in a period of transition from one stage of socialism to another or a change in directions, a change in its very model? When we speak of returning to the Leninist concept of socialism, we have in mind eliminating the distortions and deformations related, above all, to the cult of personality and stagnation phenomena. However, today the exclusive use of old theoretical concepts, albeit cleansed from accretions, is difficult and not always convincing. Are we ready to take our own step forward in the very concepts of socialism compared to the times not only of Marx but of Lenin?

[Medvedev] At this point it may be proper to note that Lenin considered socialism not as a ready-made system which would "benefit mankind," but as a live and self-renovating process. Therefore, the socialist mind must always work intensively and creatively. In any case, that is what we shall be aspiring to achieve. This is consistent with the creative spirit of our theory contributed above all, by Marx, Engels and Lenin themselves.

Now as to your specific question. In analyzing the negative trends which began to appear ever more clearly in our movement, starting with the end of the 1970s, the reasons for the loss of our advantages in the pace of economic development and lagging in new areas of technology, as well as the worsening of various difficulties, we reached the conclusion that the main reason did not lie in the profound nature of the socialist system. It was found in the specific forms of social organization which had developed in our country during the preceding stages of socialist development, which had become canonized and accepted as permanent, thus fettering contemporary progress. This included major violations of the principles of scientific socialism and the Leninist standards of party and social

life. We believe that the foundations of our public building are firm and reliable, as are its main bearing structures. However, repairs are needed, not superficial but fundamental, capital, on all floors.

Work on the critical reinterpretation of obsolete and formulation of updated concepts of socialism was initiated in our party along and in close connection with perestroika—the economic and political reforms, extensive development of democracy and glasnost. Here as well, clearly, we may make a pertinent comparison with parallel planning used in construction work in speeding up the building of new projects. Substantial theoretical results have been obtained. The main approaches and ideas were summed up at the 19th Party Conference and presented in M.S. Gorbachev's Conference report. At the same time, the practical implementation of these new ideas is underway.

Such work does not tolerate any superficial "cavalry charge" aspiration to impress the reader with sensational exposures and discoveries.

Unfortunately, we cannot avoid certain costs of this nature. Irresponsible attempts are being made to cast aspersions on Lenin's legacy and on the radical foundations and values of socialism. How else can we interpret claims which have appeared in the press that allegedly the origins of the administrative-command system may be traced to V.I. Lenin, and attempts to deny the socialist nature of our system and even to question the correctness of the socialist choice made by our people? All of this is nothing but the result of subjective fabrications by one author or another.

[KOMMUNIST] As we know, in the 1950s and 1960s an effort was made to undertake a critical analysis and to provide a truthful evaluation of Stalinist distortions, bringing theory closer to practice, and freeing it from dogmatism and scholastic exercises. We also know, however, that in subsequent decades, in the period of stagnation, the withdrawal from the methodology of Leninism actually intensified. In particular, this was expressed in the formulation of the thesis of the creation of a developed socialist society in our country. This formula, despite its obvious inconsistency with reality, became extremely widespread.

[Medvedev] I deem it necessary to point out that at that time as well not all scientists agreed with this conclusion which was clearly conflicting with the lack of resolution and the gravity of a number of economic and social problems. Others accepted the formula of developed socialism but only as a criterion with which to compare and evaluate reality, bringing to light unsolved problems. One way or another, however, all of us became involved in the discussion of this concept which conflicted with life. This was a difficult stage in the social sciences, the more so since said formula, which had been suggested initially as a realistic assessment of the extent of maturity

of our society, replacing the formula of the expanded building of communism, was increasingly being used in promoting one-sided statements and lauding successes, drawing the attention of the broad public away from the solution of pressing problems and creating the illusion that ideological-theoretical thinking was making progress.

[KOMMUNIST] In your view, what should be the base for the contemporary concept of socialism and what are its origins?

[Medvedev] When we speak of the contemporary concept of socialism, we bear in mind above all its fundamental components, the base on which it is formed. It consists of the fundamental ideas of Marxist-Leninist theory, which reflect in a most general aspect the basic tenets of the social system which is replacing capitalism. This includes our own practice, including the one related to radical restructuring. It includes the practice of the other socialist countries and the positive and negative aspects of their experience. Finally, it includes the wealth and values of world civilization and the experience of mankind as a whole. These are the profound areas which must be mastered by our social sciences. Our social sciences have provided a number of critical evaluations and constructive ideas for perestroika. However, more important than ever before is the fuller development of the theoretical foundations on the conceptual level.

It has already been confirmed that it was erroneous to relate the Stalinist period exclusively to tactical errors, haste and the desire to reach the peaks of socialism with a single efficient leap. It was not enough to describe it also only as the violation of the new economic policy. The nature of the errors and deformations which were allowed to occur goes much deeper: it lies in the violation of the Leninist concept and the humanistic nature of socialism. Loyalty to Leninism in words, based on arbitrarily taken quotations, was not only not supported by real action but, conversely, accompanied by profound and serious distortions of the Leninist principles in the spirit of barracks socialism, the establishment and assertion of an administrative-command system, arbitrariness, illegality, denigration of the individual and simplifying to a schematic level of the concept of the direct transition to the higher forms of production and social organization.

We are going back to Lenin, to the Leninist understanding of socialism which he developed as a result of the application of the ideas of socialism to the practice of revolutionary changes and the summation of the initial experience in solving peacetime tasks, unquestionably taking into consideration that Vladimir Ilich's views themselves were constantly developing and experiencing major changes in the transition from war communism to the NEP. Today this is being quite seriously studied and analyzed. Attention must be paid to all stages in the development of socialist thinking, not only for the sake of the full restoration of historical truth but, above all,

the formulation of contemporary concepts based on Marxist-Leninist methodology and the Leninist legacy, free from subsequent accretions and distortions.

It is particularly important to emphasize in this connection that the contemporary concept of socialism cannot be formulated without coordinating our ideals and objectives with contemporary practice and, above all, with perestroika itself. It is needless to mention the radical changes which have taken place in society, compared with the Leninist period, in terms of the levels of science and technology, material production, the way of life of the people, the means of human contacts and, most importantly, the development of man himself, i.e., all the features which determine the need to ascribe most contemporary forms to the various areas of social life. Today simply returning to the Leninist concept of socialism no longer suffices. The main difficulty is to interpret Lenin's ideas in the light of contemporary conditions, experience and tasks, within the overall context of contemporary global development and the present stage of civilization. It is precisely this that we have in mind when we speak of the renovation of our ideology, which is a task formulated by perestroika. Nonetheless, the new trends and the new processes which are taking place in the course of confrontation and in surmounting the opposition of conservative forces and traditions, are not always given the necessary theoretical and ideological support. Caution is being displayed in the acceptance of the new and frequently a passive attitude is being assumed, with references to the need to maintain a certain scientific detachment.

[KOMMUNIST] Obviously, however, this too has its reasons.

[Medvedev] Yes, naturally, haste in evaluations and conclusions will not help but, in frequent cases could even be harmful. A detachment is needed but in the sense that one can reach broad basic summations and fruitful conclusions which enrich theory by studying the real processes and interpreting actual experience. The very first experience, let us say, in the development of democracy and glasnost, the improvement of the electoral system and the implementation of the economic reform demand profound scientific work. Otherwise the prevalence of the old views will remain. By waiting instead of aspiring to understand the complex processes of perestroika and failing to help in the assertion of the new developments the social scientists themselves could become a support of conservatism.

As we consider the problem of shaping a contemporary concept of socialism, we also proceed from the Leninist idea that a purposeful socialism can and will be developed only on the basis of a number of experiments, each one of which will be more or less one-sided, and on the basis of international efforts. This explains the great importance of summing up the collective experience of the socialist countries, which is varied both because of historical traditions and the nature of the conditions

governing their contemporary development, and differences in approaches to the solution of arising problems. The time is past when such variety was looked at with dogmatic and sectarian suspicion, considering it as almost a violation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. It is important not to pit the comprehensive experience in building socialism in different countries against each other but to study it thoroughly and take it into consideration in the formulation of the contemporary concept of socialism.

I can tell you that in drafting all the developments and in discussing problems of perestroika at the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th Party Conference and the Central Committee plenums and in the course of the practical work of the Politburo, on each separate occasion the solution of one problem or another has been compared with the experience of our friends. Unquestionably, reciprocal cooperation, which is of vital importance to social scientists in the socialist countries, will be supported by us in all possible ways and developed in all of its aspects.

Socialism is a legitimate stage in the development of civilization. It inherits all the best that has been acquired in the course of human progress in various areas and human activities and relations. In formulating the socialist future we must not deviate from universal-historical experience. We consider this experience the most important source in shaping the contemporary concepts of socialism. This is entirely consistent with our essential concepts, for Marxism itself, as Lenin frequently emphasized, did not appear on the shoulder but on the high road of global civilization.

I deem it necessary particularly to emphasize the role and place of culture in the contemporary concept of socialism. In accordance with available experience, acquired and lost along our way, we must interpret to its fullest extent the significance of Lenin's concept to the effect that Marxism "mastered and reworked everything valuable in the more than 2000 years of development of human thought and culture" (*"Poln. Sobr. Soch."* [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 337). The task is theoretically to develop problems, such as the dialectics of traditions and innovations in cultural and historical development, the more profound mastery of the cultural legacy of the people, the process of shaping sociocultural foundations in the spiritual sphere of socialism, and others. A contemporary cultural policy cannot be formulated without a comprehensive scientific substantiation.

In the final account, in terms of all of its basic parameters socialism must emerge as a superior social system. In no area should it lose when compared to another social system. We cannot achieve a long-term development of society by investing within it social backwardness and limited, not to mention primitive, concepts which have long been rejected by life. Despite the entire critical

nature of our attitude toward another social system, we must seriously improve the study of its experience. This too is one of the important tasks in the social sciences.

We cannot afford a blanket rejection of the experience acquired by capitalism merely on the basis that it is a different social system. Such nihilism is contrary to Marxist-Leninist scientific tradition, the more so since, as a new social system socialism is still greatly behind the developed capitalist countries. It is a question of considering not only the scientific and technical achievements but a number of forms of organization of social life and solution of social problems. Obviously, we are as yet seriously to interpret the practices of the contemporary social democratic movement and its specific activities, including those related to protecting the social and general democratic gains of the working people.

[KOMMUNIST] In your report at the International Scientific Conference on "The Great October and Our Time" (see KOMMUNIST No 2, 1988) you provided a detailed analysis of the evolution within the very concept of the place of socialism in the world as a whole and its interrelationship with the other social system. The shaping of the new concept of socialism is, unquestionably, related to the interpretation of such problems on a contemporary level.

[Medvedev] Unquestionably. It is inseparably linked. I would rather not repeat myself but, in connection with the topic of our discussion, I cannot fail to point out how difficult this evolution was. To try to patch up, to modernize concepts related to different periods in our age based on realities and views of the present would mean a clash with the historical approach.

In the first years after the October Revolution, under the influence of the overall revolutionary upsurge in our political and theoretical thinking, the prevalent concepts were that the entire planet was "on the threshold of a universal proletarian revolution" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 34, p 275). Its development was presented as the spreading of the Soviet system throughout the world. The manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International stated that the Comintern "is the party of the revolutionary uprising of the international proletariat."

As early as November 1920, however, Lenin had reached the conclusion that it was impossible to solve the historical dispute between the two social systems through revolutionary pressure. The idea of shifting peaceful coexistence from initially the strictly political area to the area of the "basic laws of the age" was related to the concept of the NEP which he formulated soon afterwards.

However, the subsequent deformation was reflected also on the specific content given to the idea of peaceful coexistence. It was reduced to the aspiration to postpone

a war with the capitalist world, a war which was considered virtually inevitable. Socialism "went within itself," turning into an autarchy, and encouraging the limiting of contacts. Objectively, this contributed to the atmosphere of reciprocal mistrust and, combined with the wave of repressions within the country, adversely affected the reputation of socialism.

The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II, with the decisive contribution of the USSR, and the revolutions which resulted in a number of European and Asian countries, once again uplifted the reputation of socialism. However, they did not immediately lead to a radical revision of the concepts of the interrelationship between socialism and the surrounding world. Once again the hope of the revolutionary overthrow of the old system was revived. World socialism was conceived as a "camp" opposing the other imperialist "camp." Naturally, this had its objective reasons as well, such as the Cold War imposed upon socialism. However, the very concept of the world as consisting of two hostile "monoliths," which confronted each other supported, to a certain extent, confrontational trends.

Even after 1956, when an entire series of Stalinist concepts were condemned and a new phase in relations within the socialist world and in its relations with the capitalist world was proclaimed and the idea of a fatal inevitability of war rejected, even then the prevalent concept was the fact that peaceful coexistence is of historically short duration. It was assumed, without any serious grounds, that in the course of economic competition socialism would be able to gain the upper hand over capitalism in some 10 to 20 years.

The profound internal restructuring, which was initiated recently in our country and the other socialist countries, which presumes an entirely new and previously unattained level of "openness" of socialism toward the outside world, and the changes in the very development of civilization, which made crucial the concept of its being or not being, formulate in a new fashion the question of the nature of peaceful coexistence.

As was the case with interpreting the very nature of socialism, we returned to the origins of Lenin's understanding of this matter, eliminating the deformations and accretions of the subsequent period. Lenin considered this situation in terms of the active interrelationship between the two systems: not only the development of trade but also the creation of concessions, mixed companies, use of convertible currency, and joint resolution of global problems of that time, such as the internationalization of world communications. Naturally, not all of this is applicable to the present stage. What matters, however, is the methodology itself of the Leninist approach and, as current experience indicates, some practical concepts which have retained their value.

We now look upon peaceful coexistence as a lengthy, a long-term process the historical limits of which are difficult to define.

Processes occurring within the capitalist society itself are of essential significance. One can say that capitalism has learned a great deal since the times of the October Revolution. The gravity of class contradictions has been reduced; a certain amount of planning has been introduced in the process of capitalist development and capitalism is coordinating its actions not only on the scale of a single area such as, for example, Western Europe, but throughout the capitalist world as a whole.

Capitalism was able to withstand the losses related to the founding of the world socialist system. It withstood the breakdown of the colonial system, compensating it with a variety of forms of neocolonial dependency. It adapted to its global economic relations the majority of liberated countries. Monopoly capitalism has been extant now for about a century. It converted into state-monopoly capitalism and assumed even stronger multinational features. It found the necessary resources to develop the scientific and technical revolution.

It is possible that this lengthy coexistence between two different systems of life has its logic, its own laws. It is as though by stimulating the development of socialism it should allow it to prove its advantages and skillfully utilize its still largely unused potential and, at the same time, acquire the possibility of mastering everything valuable in the experience of the other social system.

All the necessary reasons exist for claiming that the concept according to which socialism and capitalism can develop separately from each other, as though on a parallel basis, has become obsolete. The two systems are inevitably interacting within the framework of a single human civilization. Actually, this is consistent with the principles of dialectics, which presumes not only the struggle between opposites but also their unity, which is manifested in the present contradictory yet increasingly interrelated world.

Naturally, there can be no question of a convergence between the two systems, of their merger. They individually continue to develop in accordance with their own laws. Furthermore, they are competing but under conditions of cooperation, reciprocal testing of values and ability to solve not only their own problems but, increasingly, global problems which are now facing world civilization with unparalleled urgency.

The realities of our time demand, precisely, a clearer determination of the correlation between universal and class priorities in the interrelationship between the two systems. Theoretically, both Marx and Lenin repeatedly pointed out the primacy of precisely universal human

values. In practice, however, for a number of decades primacy was given to a narrowly understood class approach based on the copy-book maxim that "he who is not with us is against us."

This approach had cost us a great deal in the past as well. However, it is simply impossible today, when it is a question of the very survival of the human species, when universal human values are assuming priority in international relations. This not only does not conflict with the class interests of socialism but, conversely, is a higher expression of such interests, for it is precisely socialism, the system to which the future belongs, that more than any other system is interested in attaining such a future.

Therefore, the Leninist formula of the lengthy period of peaceful coexistence among countries with different systems, enriched and interpreted in the light of contemporary problems, became the basis of the new political thinking formulated by the party. This is a kind of revolution in understanding the real processes of global social development, which requires the elimination of sectarian moods and dogmatic blindness.

A great deal remains to be thoroughly considered and repeatedly discussed as we develop the contemporary concept of socialism. So far, we are merely at the beginning of this trip.

[KOMMUNIST] Clearly, however, one can already now mention the essential features of this concept: How are they depicted in party documents and scientific research?

[Medvedev] As we have already said, our contemporary vision of socialist society was presented in its basic and essential features at the 19th Party Conference. Let me emphasize its basic coordinating idea: it is the idea of the humane nature of socialism, the combination of socialism with democracy, and the concept of a future society in which man will be "the measure of all things." Socialism is a society of working people and for working people. It is precisely the democratic and humane nature of socialism and its "human dimension" that we have in mind when we speak of the qualitatively new condition of our society as a result of perestroika.

The main features of restructuring are relations of ownership and eliminating the previous alienation of man from public ownership. For a long time public property developed in ways according to which it turned to be impersonal, "nobody's." It was not bringing it closer to the person but, conversely, it was statism that was considered a criterion of the maturity of socialist ownership. Cost accounting in state enterprises assumed a formal nature. The variety of forms of cooperation was eliminated. Furthermore, there was a mass conversion of kolkhozes into sovkhoses. The industrial cooperatives of the end of the 1950s were closed down and their enterprises passed under

the jurisdiction of the state. Individual labor activity was reduced to a minimum. The private auxiliary plots were subjected to periodical attacks.

In the course of perestroika and the economic reform it became necessary to make a drastic change in the existing situation, based on the extensive use of economic methods, relying on management interest and with the help of interest. An irreversible broad process was initiated of giving to the public ownership of means of production new forms, largely unfamiliar to us in recent decades.

We cannot fail to point out that this triggered, and still does, a certain opposition, caution and even confusion. We established that in our country there was virtually no theoretical backup and that the old schematic interpretations of public ownership and the very approaches to this problem were groundless. In some cases the description of public ownership in textbooks and scientific works was limited to assertions which, although generally accurate and proper, were of little substance, claiming an equal attitude on the part of everyone toward the means of production, the fact that they are no longer means of exploitation of man by man, etc. The actual mechanism of public ownership, the real process of the appropriation of funds and results of production work turned out, essentially, outside the limits of theoretical analysis. What was there to analyze, actually, if the forms of socialist ownership had become extremely standardized and impoverished.

Actually, however, socialist ownership, as a real correlation among society, the collective and the individual working people which, given contemporary forms, can trigger powerful incentives for production development, socialist ownership has a rich content as the practice of perestroika is already demonstrating.

If we turn to the political area, here as well priority is given to eliminating the vestiges of the past alienation of the toiling masses from the system and the familiar intensified political and bureaucratic deformations which greatly distorted the image of our society and greatly hindered its socialist development. Our present task is to make substantial progress in the implementation of the basic political principle of socialism, which means supreme rule by the working people and their practical participation in the solution of all governmental and social affairs centrally and in the local areas. It is precisely this that is considered by the party as the main and by no means fully identified sociopolitical source of the constructive force of socialism. It is here that its tremendous creative potential is located.

In formulating a course of perestroika in the political system and of intensified democracy, we proceed not only from the need drastically to move socialism forward and to give it dynamism and a new quality. We are

looking at this process also as a continuation, as the development of the best traditions of democracy and humanism and universal human aspirations. Strictly speaking, it is a single process of socialist progress by our society.

Allow me, in this connection, an aside of a general historical or, if you wish, also of a philosophical nature. Our social scientists have worked a great deal and meritoriously at proving the class nature and limitations of bourgeois democracy. Its rejection was natural at a time when the Russian proletariat was struggling to deprive the bourgeoisie of its power and to create a worker-peasant state. We criticized and continue to criticize the harmful and declarative nature of many rights and freedoms proclaimed by the bourgeois constitutions; at the same time, we were justifiably proud and still are, of our sociopolitical gains.

It is clear, however, that the substantiated emphasizing of essential class differences in the specific historical content of democratic standards and institutions cannot be a ground for ignoring or underestimating a certain continuity of democratic forms.

Engels himself noted that "the bourgeoisie cannot gain its political domination and cannot express this political domination in the Constitution and the laws without, at the same time, putting certain weapons into the hands of the proletariat." Lenin deemed bourgeois democracy a great historical progress compared to the previous development, that of the Middle Ages in particular.

Our present attitude toward bourgeois democracy must not be nondialectical or nihilistic, the more so since it could be criticized from both radical and reactionary-conservative viewpoints. The assertion and development of democratic forms, such as voting rights, representative institutions, plebiscites and referenda, human rights and civic freedoms, self-management, and a certain protection from the interference and arbitrary behavior of the authorities and the entrepreneurs, are making their way within the antagonistic society through the class struggle and social upheavals. In the present capitalist world, in the developed countries in particular, the working people and their political, professional and other organizations have been able to attain a certain increase in their social and other rights not without the influence of the social achievements of real socialism. The ruling classes are forced to grant certain concessions and, in their own way and for the sake of their own interests, take into consideration the lessons they have learned from the socialist revolutionary changes in a number of countries.

It would be a crime of inadmissible sectarianism and political limitation to reject the critical and creative utilization of the democratic forms which are the result of social progress and are essentially accomplishments of universal human culture.

As has already been pointed out, socialism should inherit everything that is best and that has been created as a result of previous historical developments. This includes securing the rights and freedoms of citizens, the organization of the system and the management of society and the state. As we understand it, perestroika is a breakthrough achieved by socialism and leading to a higher level of civilization and its assertion as the most progressive and democratic social system of all.

I believe that on this level as well the social scientists must engage in serious thoughts. Our science can be significantly enriched by the broad and specific understanding of the development of democracy as the historical accomplishment of all human civilization and a comprehensive study of the correlation between universal human and class features in the course of the progressive development of democratic forms on the scale of global and national cultures.

[KOMMUNIST] Vadim Andreyevich, when the reform of the political system is mentioned, the need to take into consideration the pluralism of opinions is justly emphasized. Yet so far a number of dogmatic accretions may be found in the interpretation of this problem. What are your ideas on this matter?

[Medvedev] Let me draw attention to the idea that objectively inherent in socialist society are premises for socialist pluralism of opinion and the creation of a political mechanism consistent with it. It is time for us to abandon dogmatism in this area. Socialism must create the type of political system which would take into consideration the real structure of society, the variety of interests and the aspirations of all social groups and communities of people. When we emphasize that socialism is the live creativity of the masses, we unquestionably have in mind not the abstract mass but the individual member of a given social, national or professional community which represents certain interests. Consequently, it is a question of a system which would encompass the pluralism of opinions and which, furthermore, must encompass it. In our views only thus can we eliminate the alienation of the individual from the system and from management, ensure the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country and enhance the spiritual and intellectual potential of society.

However unusual the concept of "pluralism" may sound to our "socialist ear," we must fully realize that it would be rather difficult seriously to speak of democracy without acknowledging and considering in politics the real social differences among people and among their interests and views.

In our view, one of the reasons for scorning democracy and rejecting the legality of pluralism of opinion under socialism is found in the existence of the previously quite impoverished concepts of the social structure of society and the exaggerated trends toward its heterogeneity. As we know, stubborn efforts have been made to make the

comprehensive and conflicting nature of economic, social and spiritual interests of the people strictly fit the framework of a common, uniform interest, groundlessly emphasizing the trend toward social homogeneity, not to speak of the merging of ethnic groups. Confronted with life, these views failed the test.

Naturally, the nature of existing differences in interests and views varies. Some of them are sometimes even unhealthy and antisocial, such as the aspirations of black marketeers, money grubbers, parasites, etc. However, we are not speaking of them but of the healthy, economically and morally justified interests which do not conflict with the principles of our system. Such differences and differentiations exist and will continue to exist. Our society has never been and never will be an identical homogeneous mass. Therefore, I believe that the intensification of democracy and the development of pluralism are not only tasks of the present but also, in the long range, permanent tasks.

The political system must be the type of flexible, diversified and differentiated variety in order to encompass and detect the entire range of social, group and personal interests and features of the people and the ability for their utilization, while resolving at the same time possible contradictions and ascribing a shape to coordination and the balancing of interests. In the final account, however, it must be aimed at the progressive development of society.

We ascribe to the party a role of essential significance in the development of democracy in our entire social life. It is entirely obvious that its leading role cannot be weakened and reduced merely to performing coordinating functions. Conversely, the party's influence on social processes will intensify not through command-administrative methods but through a concentration of its forces, as was already noted, on the more profound and fundamental development of theory and politics and the study of real processes and influence on public opinion through political and ideological means inherent in the party.

[KOMMUNIST] The view is frequently expressed (in our editorial mail in particular) that socialist pluralism will inevitably require a multi-party system.

[Medvedev] I believe that the main reason for such questions is that until recently we simply had no sufficiently adequate conditions, subjective above all, for the practical implementation of socialist pluralism of opinions and interests. Let me note in this connection that a one-party system neither conflicts with nor excludes democracy. The entire matter lies in the real full power of the people and the nature of party activities. That is precisely the essence of the problem and the main factor affecting society and the individual. What conditions are we talking about? Let me name at least three: the first is the establishment and improvement of a wide network, a system of organizations, associations and institutions

which can adequately and flexibly reflect the multiplicity of both natural and healthy social interests (professional, age, and others). The second is the systematic changes in the functions and methods of party activities leading to its profound democratization, which was extensively discussed at the 19th Party Conference. The third and final is the full realization of the ideas of a socialist state of law, the strengthening of the legal foundations of all social life and the assertion of high legal, political and general standards.

I would like particularly to emphasize this latter feature, for Marx himself noted that the law cannot stand above the economic system and the standard on which it is based. This thought remains very relevant to this day, the more so since socialist democracy cannot be limited to the realm of "purely political" decisions but must also encompass the areas of the economy, economic management and spiritual life.

As to the democratization of the party and the ways and means of its activities, let me emphasize that the CPSU is open both to internal discussions as well as the discussion of any problem with all social organizations and the nonparty masses.

The party is relying on a more active independent contribution to the formulation of its socioeconomic course and to the formulation of decisions on many important vital problems by our most representative authorities—the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and women's and veteran organizations. The forthcoming step of delegating groups of deputies who are members of the CPSU and of public organizations to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the creation of their representative authorities in this supreme state agency will unquestionably contribute to the fruitful and constructive discussion and resolution of major problems of our life.

In its relations with the public organizations, the party respects their right to have their own opinion and to defend their own positions and protect their interests. Of late there has been a tempestuous development of forms of social independent activities by our population and various types of organizations and informal associations. A Popular Front is being organized in a number of republics. All of these are legitimate processes which are due also to the fact that the system of public organizations which had developed in the past had become to a certain extent formalized, for which reason it was also largely unprepared for expressing the pluralism of people's views and interests. We are against such new forms to be actively considered as almost a danger to our social system, although such feelings do exist. They are not consistent with our party line toward democracy, glasnost and pluralism. Naturally, in this case it is not a question of setting up structures which could be used against socialism or imposing upon our people views and decisions alien to their basic interests. This exceeds the limits of socialist pluralism of opinions.

Regular public opinion surveys and other ways and means of the study of public opinions are scheduled to play a certain role in determining and evaluating social interests and moods. We are only at the very beginning in use the materials of such surveys in making political decisions, but firmly intend to make this a steady practice. In this case our press, which is the most authoritative and most influential public rostrum in the interpretation of real practice, criticism, discussions and constructive suggestions, could play, and is already playing, a major role.

I believe that under such social circumstances artificially creating other parties as opponents of CPSU policy becomes totally senseless.

[KOMMUNIST] Vadim Andreyevich, the public knows you as a scientist in the field of political economy. You are currently the editor of a new textbook on that subject. It seems legitimate to ask the following: How will the new concepts of socialism we are discussing be concretized in the realm of economics or, more specifically, through the development of socialist political economy?

[Medvedev] As to the textbook, let the reader be the first judge. I shall merely say that this is an initial attempt to provide a course on political economy in accordance with the approaches, ideas and objectives of perestroika. Naturally, the authors do not claim to have the final say or to hold any kind of final truth. Science is a developing process.

We proceeded from the fact that our concepts on the economic foundations of socialism and the socialist economic system unquestionably need a major renovation and intensification. The practices of the past 3 years confirms that we are trying to surmount the approaches which prevailed here and which reflected the management system which had developed in the 1930s. This is the purpose of the economic reform, the essence of which is a conversion from administrative to economic management methods, strengthening economic incentives for the growth of output and its qualitative improvement on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress on all levels and throughout the national economy. Everything is subordinated to it: social reorientation in economic development, aimed at meeting the needs of the people, radical changes in structural policy, and changes in planning, management, price-setting, finances and other instruments of economic management. We have begun to convert enterprises to full cost accounting, self-financing and self-support. A powerful impetus was given to the cooperative movement, not only in agriculture but in other sectors as well. We have gone back to leasing and to various forms of contracting and individual labor activity.

We must emphasize that it is important in leasing relations not simply to lift the ban on such relations, which was imposed on them in 1930, but also extensively to develop them as one of the most promising forms of

utilization of socialist property. There neither are nor could there be any question of their socialist nature. Furthermore, such relations could be considered as one of the closest or, perhaps, the most adequate in terms of the nature of public ownership.

Leasing is manifesting its positive aspects on all levels: individual, brigade and shop, and on the level of enterprises and associations. We are familiar with the explosive effect which the leasing method has had on agriculture and consumer services. But this also applies to industry, as the experience of the Butovo Construction Materials Combine in Moscow Oblast has indicated. Furthermore, leasing is applicable in large-scale industry and not only in the case of "sick" but also of properly working enterprises. As we know, the collective of the Sumy Machine-Building Association is preparing to lease the enterprise from the state.

Society as a whole, as represented by the state, is the supreme owner of the means of production. Such means are granted to the collectives of working people for their use, to produce goods for the market. They work for themselves and settle their accounts with the state for the assets, land and other natural resources granted to the collectives and allocate the necessary funds for expanding production and for paying the people out of their own income. What here conflicts with socialism? Nothing. Conversely, any cost accounting which is not formal contains within itself some principles of leasing. Leasing is the second and most consistent type of cost accounting based on gross income.

The same could be said of the cooperative. It too demands the adoption of a broader and more profound theoretical approach. It is annoying that here as well exaggerations and one-sided interpretations are allowed to exist. The standardization of the forms of socialist ownership is unacceptable in its state, cooperative or any other variant. The forms of socialist ownership are rich and varied and this is the advantage of socialist ownership and the nature of its flexibility which allows us to encompass and consider the entire variety of specific economic management conditions in various areas, sectors and geographic regions. There is no place for doctrinairism in this case. We should not, as was the case in the past, present matters as though this form is more mature from the socialist viewpoint and should be given preference, whereas another, such as the private plot, is unsuitable. An integrated approach is needed in this case.

An inherent feature of contemporary production is that of the specific combination of systems and the multiplicity of forms of economic management caused by the uneven nature of scientific and technical progress, differences in the level of actual and economic socialization, etc. We should not avoid this but, conversely, should support it in all possible ways. This type of "economic pluralism" is very important in order to make efficient and flexible use of our material and labor

resources. Any form of managing the economy is good if it yields real economic and social results, if it enables us more fully to satisfy the needs of the people and if it excludes the exploitation of man by man.

Let us also mention the need for a serious reinterpretation of the problem of commodity-monetary relations under socialism and the interconnection between plan and market. The extensive use of commodity-monetary relations is a mandatory prerequisite for efficient economic management, based on the use of economic methods. Wherever there is no economic motivation there inevitably appears a noneconomic coercion and, with it, various deformations, distortions and abuses.

For decades theoretical passions have been seething on the subject of the choice: plan or market? Today in both practice and science the balance is clearly in favor of the dialectical combination of the plan with the market under socialism. Increasingly, market relations are viewed as inherent relations of exchange under socialism rather than as something alien, introduced from the outside and containing a threat to socialist gains.

Under our circumstances, the market is an irreplaceable means of profound economic coordination between production and the constantly changing social needs and a major instrument in social control over the quality of goods and production costs. If we eliminate speculative distortions from the market, it is one of the main achievements in the development of human civilization. It would be extremely foolish and absurd to refuse to use this economic form solely because it is being applied by the other social system.

In all of this we proceed from the fact that the socialist economy cannot function without the strong role of the center. Changes are being made in centralized management and its methods. It is being shifted to problems, such as structural changes, investment policy and implementation of major scientific and technical programs. Centralism, in its democratic rather than bureaucratic interpretation, is called upon to provide a balance in the area of macroeconomic proportions, to create normal conditions for a balanced market and to secure the functioning of the financial-crediting and monetary systems, i.e., to provide the most favorable conditions for efficient activities by enterprises and associations as socialist commodity producers.

Actually, as practical experience has indicated, the highly developed capitalist economy as well cannot do without centralized management functions. Some Western economists have cautioned us against underestimating the importance of centralized management methods. I am specifically referring to the notes published in your journal by British economist A. Nove and the earlier publication by V. Leontyev (see *KOMMUNIST* No 12, 1988; No 12, 1987).

[KOMMUNIST] In this connection could you shed some light on the question of the greater economic independence of republics and regions. The question is frequently asked whether any kind of autonomy of the individual regions could harm our common interests and could that lead to a divided all-Union market?

[Medvedev] In principle, the idea of "regional cost accounting" does not trigger any doubts. The people of the individual republics and the population of individual areas should feel a correlation between the level of material and social prosperity and the way they work. This includes something similar to Lenin's idea of the tax-in-kind: an increase in responsibility and in interest.

Naturally, however, this has its limits. Economic exclusivity conflicts with objective needs and trends. Today, unfortunately, there is a feeling of letting all Union industry be managed by the individual republics, ship fewer goods beyond their borders, etc. This is a problem. However, it is related to something else, to the rights of republic and Union authorities. We must not pull everything toward the center and deprive a republic of the possibility of setting its own prices of fruits, vegetables, or movie theater tickets. Decisions in this area must be intelligent, tactful and considered.

Finally, there is yet another consideration which affects the theoretical interpretation of economic perestroika. We come across claims that full cost accounting, lease, cooperation, contracting, individual labor activity, intensification of commodity-monetary relations and the use of the market are all, allegedly, violations or almost a step backward in the development of production relations and that, it is alleged, in the past we rushed ahead and now we must temporarily retreat.

[KOMMUNIST] But what is it: Are we advancing or retreating?

[Medvedev] Let me express my clear and firm opinion on this matter. If we consider not some kind of artificial theoretical elaborations but the actual economic process, we must frankly say that all of these steps are contributing to the improvement of economic relations and, in this sense, they constitute real progress, not only from the viewpoint of upgrading the stimulating role of production relations but also from that of their social maturity.

It would be purely speculative to believe that the lack of cost accounting, lease and individual labor activity and total state ownership constitute some kind of higher level of production relations. In reality, it was on the basis of such a fictitious haste that the actual lag in production relations appeared, manifested in the distortion of socialist principles and the appearance and development of unhealthy phenomena, such as the use of public property with a view to personal profit, unearned

income, extortion, bribery, and intensified negative phenomena in the social area. The economic reform eliminates the grounds on which such phenomena rest and strengthens production relations, making them, in a real sense, more mature in a socialist manner.

The viewpoint which was popular in the past was that a characteristic feature in the development of the socialist production method was not so much the lag of production relations behind the development of production forces than their faster development. The latter was almost preferred, for allegedly the faster development of production relations allowed the generating of incentives for the accelerated development of production forces, urging them to reach the level of production relations. On the surface, scholastically, this looked beautiful whereas actually it was a justification for subjectivism and adventurism in economic development. In practice this resulted not in the acceleration but the obstruction of socioeconomic progress.

[KOMMUNIST] Here is another question. Should we see to it that strategic political conclusions, while stimulating public activities and guiding them, will not, at the same time, block opportunities for scientific research, or let such conclusions turn into scientific dogma?

[Medvedev] The answer is simple: problems of theory neither could nor should be resolved through directives. In displaying initiative in the formulation and discussion of ideological and theoretical problems, the party has put an end to a state of affairs in which the development of theory was considered the prerogative of individuals while scientists were only allowed to comment.

There neither are nor could there be any restrictions on the way to a true scientific quest of ways leading to the development of our socialist society. Science always means a search for the truth, which can be successful only in a creative atmosphere which will ensure the competition among ideas, scientific trends and schools, comparisons among hypotheses and testing them in practice. Monopoly inevitably leads to stagnation. However, the greatest damage it can cause is in the areas of science, literature, art and culture, which are the most delicate areas of human activities.

To sum up our discussion on the state of development of the contemporary concept of socialism, let me once again most firmly note that we are merely at the beginning of this major and difficult path. We are not inclined to believe that we have answers to all questions, even to basic ones.

This is a major task which will require extensive intellectual efforts on the part of our scientific and ideological cadres, the development of basic and applied research in various areas of social science, and extensive democratic discussions. We need a free competition of the minds,

which will benefit our social thinking, multiply its forecasting power and, therefore, its ability to serve as a reliable foundation for the elaboration of the concept of 21st century socialism.

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Turning the Peasant Back Into a Peasant
18020005b Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian
No 17, Nov 88 (signed to press 17 Nov 88) pp 19-22

[Article by Ye.S. Stroyev, first secretary of the Orel Party Obkom]

[Text] Following is the publication of materials on the establishment of new economic relations, of the leasing system above all, in the countryside. Ye.S. Stroyev, first secretary of the Orel Party Obkom, attended and addressed the CPSU Central Committee meeting on this topic. Our correspondent A. Ulyukayev asked him to discuss problems and prospects of development in leasing and the experience of leases in the Orel area. The "Orel acceleration" was given a high rating at the Conference On Problems of Improving Population Food Supplies, which was held in Orel on 14-15 November.

Today no task is more important than that of supplying the population with its daily bread and with good-quality and varied food products. The way to solve this problem is by no means easy or even. What causes the difficulties? Neglect of economic management methods; lengthy stagnation in the social development of the countryside; accelerated nonequivalent or simply devastating trade relations between agriculture and other sectors; finally, the social inequality of the peasants—the feeders of the country—which developed on this basis, compared with the other population strata.

This is an old "disease." However, we postponed its treatment and even its diagnosis. It was only after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that this problem began to be discussed openly. It was simply no longer possible to ignore the way literally under our very eyes the countryside was waning and breaking down. It was impossible to solve its problems exclusively by developing its material foundation. The rural worker is the foundation of all foundations on earth. If his situation is bad so is that of the economy. Let me cite the following example: specialists have estimated that in agriculture the effect of the labor contribution of a single working person approximately corresponds to the effect of the use of fixed assets worth 35,000 rubles, i.e., it is only slightly lesser than the cost of a Don-model combine. Therefore, removing even a single peasant from the production process is almost the equivalent to the loss of a combine. Yet, until recently, between 5,000 and 7,000 working people annually were abandoning some rayons in our oblast. This is the equivalent of the loss of several thousand combines working in the fields.

A great deal of consideration was given to the material base while man with his needs and concerns was pushed aside. We reached a situation in which in many farms the share of the social amenities in the overall value of assets did not exceed 5 to 7 percent.

All of this alienated the peasant from the land and from the results of his own toil. The rural way of life itself became disjointed. Was this not the situation described by M. Gorkiy (on the subject of "Countryside," by our compatriot I. Bunin), when he said that this was the push which forced Russian society, broken up and weakened, seriously to consider no longer the question of the muzhik or the people but the harsh question of would there or would there not be a Russia?

Therefore, new approaches are truly needed in mastering economic management methods and in solving social problems and working with people. I am convinced that leasing will lay a firm foundation for them.

That is why, starting with last year, we began extensively to promote its use. We felt, from the very first steps we took, its uplifting force and, at the same time, how accessible and easy to understand this was by the working people themselves. Finally, the opportunity appeared of combining personal with public interests, which not only did not clash with each other but jointly pulled in the same direction, truly accelerating the development of agriculture. This precisely is the way to a right rather than "lean" socialism.

However, in order for the leasing system to really develop, in our view, we must properly set relations among lessees, the farm and the state. So far this problem has not been developed on the scientific-theoretical level and we have to work our way through the trial-and-error method. Naturally, it would be nice if the errors were to be fewer. Nonetheless, in our oblast we have been able to establish several viable forms of reciprocal leasing relations. The most widespread are those of small-group specialized teams. Larger subunits which contract responsibility for an entire crop or livestock farm are created in the economically strong farms with adequate labor resources. There have even appeared narrowly specialized leasing cooperatives with their own bank accounts in the Agroprombank, engaged, for example, in the production of perennial grass seeds, especially clover and alfalfa. Interfarm cooperatives are also being created. Finally, the family and individual leasing method, which we consider as the most stable, promising and efficient, is developing increasingly.

I am convinced that today we must not limit ourselves to any one of these forms. All of them have a right to life and it is reality which will indicate which among them will be the most efficient. One cannot mislead reality.

The leasing system did not begin to develop immediately and simply, for many people found it easier to live as in the past. We needed path blazers whose example would

convince the people of the high efficiency of the leasing method. Such people, truly dedicated to the new project, were found in each rural rayon.

It was they who provided the initial experience. As experience was acquired, we began regularly to hold meetings with lessees and to hold debates in the course of which arguments based on practical experience were the most convincing. Steps were taken to strengthen the party's influence in the leasing collectives. Currently they include 695 party groups and more than 2,000 party organizers. It is precisely thus, through the party members and not through the interference of party authorities in economic problems, that the CPSU should exercise its contemporary agrarian policy. The new content defines the new forms.

As a result of such efforts, currently the oblast has several thousand leasing collectives, more than 400 of them family. In 53 farms the leasing method has been applied in all production and auxiliary sectors; starting with the end of 1988, entire rayons will convert to it.

Estimating the price at which the lessee sells his product triggers a great deal of difficulty as we convert to the leasing method. The efficiency of the leasing system greatly depends on the accuracy of its computation. According to official recommendations, it should be based essentially on outlays in previous years. Yet they seem to focus as through a lens irresponsibility and negligence in production and management. This led to the conclusion that it would be more expedient to develop reciprocal relations on the basis of state purchase prices. This enabled us to avoid the errors currently made by many kolkhozes and sovkhozes when it comes to paying wages which have essentially not been earned.

We can confidently say today that the leasing system has been successful. It has given the people faith in the fact that their entire life will be truly restructured. It has given the people, firm, persuasive and practical ideas. And, as we know, an idea which grabs the masses becomes a true material force, a force which can transform life. This is a basic feature of Marxism. Yet how difficult it proved to be when it came to its practical application!

Leasing is already yielding its initial substantial results. For example, in the livestock farm where Ye.S. Znamenskaya is the head of a leasing collective, in 2 years milk production per cow increased by 1,500 kilograms. In the leasing collective headed by A.A. Shebanov, in 1 year pork production doubled, totaling 350 tons whereas the plan for the entire kolkhoz for both pork and beef called for 285 tons. Even they themselves did not expect to achieve such successes.

With his wife and son, V.T. Kozinov is raising 150 heifers on a lease contract basis. The average daily weight increase of the animals in that family exceeds 1

kilogram, i.e., almost double the farm's average. In 1 year this family group will produce 50 tons of beef at a cost of 140 rubles per quintal.

Many such examples could be cited. All of them indicate the high efficiency of the new form of organization of economic relations. Today, however, we are no longer satisfied simply by examples. This was the first, the indicative stage of the work. I believe that we have already surpassed it. What we now need are the interpretation and study and, on their basis, formulation of a system which would apply to all units and levels of the agrarian economy.

It is particularly interesting that people who have had a taste of the lease do not even consider today a return to the old order. Conversely, they have a developed feeling of respect for themselves and pride in their labor. I frankly acknowledge that the painstaking work of the party organizations and the specialists in the development of leasing has given all of us strength and that, perhaps for the first time in many years, we have felt a firm sense of confidence in the future. The awareness of the toiling man is also changing for the better: today he is acquiring a more real feeling of perestroika.

What have these changes, I mean the development initially of the brigade and family and, subsequently, of the leasing systems, yielded on the oblast scale? In 3 years output has increased by 27 and labor productivity by 36 percent; grain production increased by 46 percent and sugar beets by 36 percent; fodder procurements have nearly doubled. Milk production per cow will increase this year alone by 350 kilograms and will reach almost 3,000 kilograms. In 3 years oblast procurements have increased by 30 percent for meat and 27 percent for milk.

Thanks to above-plan production, we have been able to increase local production by 35 percent for meat and 17 percent for dairy products. Butter, cheese, pork, poultry meat and eggs are being sold freely on the basis of state retail prices. In this respect, in our oblast the food program is essentially close to being solved. There is no need to expatiate as to what this means in terms of the daily life of the people. However, it is all too early to relax. We must work more to expand variety and to improve quality.

Nonetheless, a number of restraining factors remain in the establishment and development of leasing relations. The first is mental conservatism. Let us not view it simplistically. Most frequently the opposition to leasing today is covert, frequently carried out under the banner of the struggle "for the purity of socialism." Young people are still being harmed by the old dogmas which were instilled in them in schools and institutes. Does the purity of socialism mean lines and scarcity of many products and industrial commodities? What kind of

purity is this if such phenomena are irritating the people and poisoning their lives! Let the guardians of the "foundations" think about it.

Second. In our view, it is wrong to believe that it is only the weak and losing farms and not the economically strong that could benefit from leasing. If we look at the dynamics of the development of such farms it turns out that in frequent cases they by no means make full use of their available potential. They are, so to say, adopting a leisurely attitude based on past accomplishments. We reached this conclusion after having studied the work of 60 among the best farms in the oblast. It turned out that many of them had shown no progress for years and, sometimes, had even worsened somewhat. That is why we formulated a special program according to which the progressive farms should increase their output by a factor of 1.3-1.5. However, attaining such standards without leasing would be difficult.

Third. Leasing relations should be mastered comprehensively and not as isolated islands, for otherwise the idler and the parasite will retain the possibility of continuing to do poor work and living a carefree life, occasionally earning more than the lessee. This also applies to all partners in the agroindustrial complex, who are not in a hurry to convert to the new relations and are still trying to achieve success not by improving their work but by raising the prices of equipment, other resources and services.

Fourth. One year of work has proved that a prerequisite for serious success is to combine leasing with the achievements of scientific and technical progress. We cannot seriously rely on achieving a breakthrough in solving the problem of food supplies only through the muscular energy of the lessees. Indeed, the initial essential results can be achieved by applying the leasing form itself; subsequently, however, such efforts must be quickly supported through the use of minor mechanization facilities, progressive technologies and the creation of the type of labor conditions which would guarantee the contemporary standard of output and not undermine possibilities of recreation and training. We are already now trying to set up such centers of future family farms. Let us not forget working conditions as well, for it is difficult for the elderly to farm manually while the young are simply unwilling to do so. Our agricultural machine-building industry is continuing to produce heavy mastodon tractors which cannot be used in truck gardening. The time has finally come to undermine the monopoly of the departments by granting, for example, the lessee the possibility of establishing direct relations with equipment producers, including foreign enterprises.

Finally, in order for the leasing system to be consolidated, the people who have chosen it must feel confident. This means that we need a law on leasing, which will give priority to the lessee, to the working person firmly tied to the land. But how can he now stand on this soil if, in

applying the leasing method we, as it turns out, are violating Article 50 of the Foundations of Land Legislation, which directly forbid the leasing of land.

The experience gained by the peasant, paid in blood, proves that leasing is a step of tremendous importance. This is the first time since the NEP that we are reforming the base, the foundation of life itself, restoring the natural interest of man in the land. This must be accomplished not only for the sake of sufficiency, although that too is important. What is even more important is once again to turn the peasant into a peasant, to illuminate his life with the light of common sense and lofty objectives. A well organized economy must highlight the talents of the individual and be consistent with his expectations and hopes. It will be at that point that we shall be able to say that the struggle for the renovation of socialism has been successful.

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Old Myths and New Fears

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[KOMMUNIST commentary]

[Text] This is the long-awaited time of glasnost which, only yesterday, seemed like a holiday which might come to an end at any moment but is, today, a daily occurrence and which must never be considered a holiday but a standard of life and as commonplace as the air, bread and water. It happens, however, that something strange, something which does not wish to become familiar either with proofs or arguments would appear in newspapers and journals and subsequently reappear, with a sullen but brutal persistency and immediately turn into the old concept according to which glasnost is not a game or playing at freedom by simple-minded children but an entirely serious struggle between ideas which may be quite different but, nonetheless, equally seeking popularity and influence. It may seem that all such ideas are exclusively geared to perestroika and it becomes difficult to determine why would different and truly strange views have a specific bias, what response are they relying on and to what forces in man and society are they appealing?

For example, as we kept on living, it turned out that we did not know that "our best writers are speaking of a profound spiritual and moral state of running wild on the part of the broadest possible popular strata and on all rungs of the social ladder."

It turns out that our "great national heritage" seems to have lost the hands "capable of preserving it and worthily perpetuating it," as though "one criminal intent crisscrossed another in order to deprive the people of their memory and senses and prevent them from finding out what is happening and why."

It turns out that Leo Tolstoy, the pride of Russian culture, an artist of national, of universal significance, was a "representative of the Masonry," was not quite knowledgeable about patriotism and "together with others prepared a catastrophe" which, apparently, meant the destruction of Russian autocracy.

We are learning many other things: we curse at our past and stand on the brink of catastrophe and import ways of life alien to the people and can no longer distinguish between right and wrong....

The reader who quite possibly belongs to said "broadest possible popular strata," who has fallen into a "profound spiritual and moral state of running wild," listens to all such fresh news about himself and his country and despite the "criminal intents," which try to deprive him once and for all of his "memory and senses," one would assume, nonetheless learns something from all such novelties, compares, remembers and thinks: Why actually is he being denigrated and frightened and, in general, treated like a thoughtless child?

Is this not the case? With a certain way of thinking, the very abundance of readers, of reading people who, last autumn, defended their interests in their argument against some departments for the freedom to subscribe to periodicals, may be assessed as yet another manifestation of that same state of wild behavior or loss of senses: that is not what the readers want that is not what they aspire to....

This way of thinking is neither new nor amazing in the least. There have always been and there will be people who are prepared to determine for others, particularly for the broad masses, what type of knowledge is useful, in what proportion and, in general, what type of books the people should read, what books should be better left alone, what songs to sing and what music to play.... And if the masses do not listen to them how can one escape the conclusion that something bad is happening with the masses, something has damaged the people....

At this point the following question arises: How should one react to the intellectual oddities such as the ones we mentioned, i.e., the revelry of a free mind? Would there be a halt in this revelry so that some kind of questioning or interrupting voice could be heard? Judging by a report published in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA about a session held by the secretariat of the board of the RSFSR Writers' Union, held in Ryazan, which came out on 28 October 1988, and by many other statements in the press, this is by no means a frequent occurrence. Let us immediately stipulate that we do not intend to interfere in the literary struggle and in the competition among groups or in journal polemics, in which the unbiased observer would notice exaggerations and the heightened temperature of emotions. What matters more here are ideas which are by no means literary but are answers to the question: Could it be that the concept of pluralism, which is popular and, incidentally, "imported," means a

degree of tolerance, coinciding to such an extent with the formula of "let them talk," as to turn into an ordinary noninterference in which it becomes somehow embarrassing to "get involved," as though one is opposing democracy which, incidentally, is also an "imported" concept. The outcome is, let them talk and if an argument becomes noisy, let us be concerned, first of all, with observing the standard of discussion. And so concern has been shown and this was (and remains) important, for without observing proper manners and the "rules of the game" neither pluralism nor democracy become possible. However, frequently the content and meaning of the argument and the positions taken by the sides seem to be ignored and if appeals to observe the rules may affect one's judgment, this should be considered an impropriety, a virtual carelessness, for the person who interferes would like to be if not "above the fray" at least someone who is asserting his support of pluralism.

Socialist pluralism, which is so unusual in terms of our social daily life, is clearly understood, in such cases, in a formal fashion. It does not mean in the least any avoidance of a clear choice or clear evaluations and it is not at all the equivalent of "omnivorousness," which accepts all that one wishes providing that it does not violate the rules too badly. It is difficult to imagine a press organ which would publish the entire variety of opinions without having its own opinions or finding out what they are. Without such a discovery and defense of one's own position—political, philosophical or esthetic—the pluralism of a press organ risks to remain on the stage of reproducing ordinary differences or, which is infinitely worse, become a connivance. Could it be said that pluralism means reciprocal connivance? It is inconceivable without the ability to hear someone else, without acknowledging his right to think and speak in turn. However, this must be a two-sided ability, right and respect for someone else's dignity and standards, which do not void in the least the right to disagree and, particularly, the right to object to anything which is aimed at the destruction of man, humanity and the human values of socialism and global civilization. The threat to human existence has no geographic location: it appears where human life has been depreciated, the life of people of different faith or origin, dissidents, social "second-raters," and, in general, the life of others, converted into state property. The threat most frequently comes from such areas and there are no reasons to think that such areas no longer exist.

We may speak of pluralism but an individual, a party, a nation or a country must make a choice, sooner or later. They will choose one of the ways open to them and at that point, finally, we shall begin to come out of the deep and hardened ruts of stagnation and take the path of perestroika. The long period of time largely wasted in inefficient and talentless efforts, when the concepts of man had become simplified and man's possibilities had been narrowed, when the tremendous spiritual and constructive potential of the people remained unused, when historical memory was, as in the past, covered by a thick

coat of lies, when on the grounds of disappointment with reality grew not only the healthy forces of the spiritual and moral opposition to stagnation, following the Leninist revolutionary traditions, but also when eclectic feelings were disseminated, which shunned such traditions and which sought ideals and models in prerevolutionary Stolypin Russia, ignoring its democratic movements, without which the national fate of the country is inconceivable, will become a thing of the past.

It may seem that if a choice has been made, a decisive choice, the unsuitable or rejected options could be eliminated and even any mention of them would be forbidden. However, trained by bitter and tragic experience, the men of perestroika were right to seek guarantees to the effect that any socially significant choice, any decision of importance to society would be formulated and continue to coexist with a variety of other views, opinions, and positions, agreeing, disagreeing or even alternate, so that the process of correcting the choice or decision be continued, and so that the live opportunities for further development do not become atrophied but be kept as the nutritive ground, as a normal prerequisite for healthy social progress.

However, differences which are inherent in any multiplicity of views and opinions, as natural as multiplicity itself, do they not require a constant study? Does pluralism exclude naming things by their proper names? Furthermore, is it possible to stop the human mind from working? Exhortations are heard: enough labels! This is true. However, any phenomenon, trend or action must be somehow described, analyzed and defined, for otherwise it is not entirely real or understandable.

It is being said that the reader himself will find his way in any kind of dissent of opinions. This is indeed true but, judging by the editorial mail, some readers, realizing that opinions expressed in the mass press is no longer an exclusively private matter but is addressed to a huge number of people, feel, particularly in cases of sharp and concerned disagreement, the need to object on the same broad grounds. In this case, the reader thinks not of his personal objection but of some kind of other, more substantive, better argued objection and believes that it is bound to follow, it must follow! What is this faith based on? Is it based on the notorious traditions of the press which mandatorily hastened to "rebuff" any sally or quest? Such was frequently the case. However, let us imagine the faith or, better, the conviction of a reader that some phenomena in social life and works of literature and the arts are simply someone's expressions but which, widely published, should be mandatorily explained in one or another authoritative publication and which, he hopes, would be able to express a party or professional interest, experience and understanding. Such a reader expects a reaction on the part of the press he has become accustomed to trust, but then there is no reaction or let us assume that there is none, at which point he becomes puzzled and he is being told that this is what pluralism is, you are out of step with life! Possibly

the reader may guess that by hiding behind such explanations the people make their own lives easier, avoiding ideological arguments and, sometimes, unwittingly conniving with base and evil passions.

Marx wrote that the press is a "powerful instrument of culture and spiritual education of the people... converts the material struggle into an ideological struggle, and the struggle between flesh and blood into a spiritual struggle, a struggle of needs, passions, and an empirical approach to a struggle among theories, minds and forms" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 40, p 275).

Naturally, the task of converting the struggle among passions, and empirical approaches into a competition among minds, theories and forms is difficult. Clearly, a great deal depends on the nature of emotions and passions and their correlation with the true needs of the people and the times experienced by the country. Whatever the case, such a transformation is not always successful, particularly when the press undertakes to acquaint millions of Soviet people with writers' sessions such as the one in Ryazan. It has frequently turned out that the "powerful instrument of culture and spiritual education of the people" is helpless when it comes to converting the struggle among some passions into a competition of minds and theories. Both theory and reason, if we bear in mind the positive interpretation of these concepts, highlighted by culture, would exist as suppressed passions. The reader, who has imbued the latest dose of revelations by the writers, some of which are reproduced at the beginning of our text, would be right in considering the permanency of some exposures, fears, warnings, and the monotony and predictability of emphasis, and poverty of concepts concerning culture and literature in the years of perestroika. The real difficulties of culture, which are much greater, are difficulties of the life of the people in the cities and villages of our huge country, encompassed by perestroika and have little in common with such virtually scatological reflections in some writers' minds.

Why is this? There are those who are pleased, for in slightly over 3 years there have been unprecedented changes in the country; an end has been put to the profanation of socialism and the socialist ideals; we are returning to everything that was best in the revolution by restructuring our lives on the principles of democracy, glasnost, self-management, cost accounting and total trust in the working person, and are continuing to settle our accounts with everything that was criminal and truly scandalous, which maimed the lives of many generations and brought a great deal of sadness and unhappiness to the peoples of our country. Others are complaining loudly. They are expressing their indignation and frighten us with everything they can think of, such as satanic rock music, immoral beauty contests, again and again rock, this Trojan Horse of imperialism and, naturally, secret conspiracies, intrigues, designs, schemes, and historical scenarios which are lethal to Russia, which led to the appearance in our country of drunkenness,

divorce, a low birthrate, harmful hydraulic projects and all sorts of rockers, drug addicts, easy women, and anything else that is bad and unnecessary.... One could detect behind such total exposures a healthy warning against the influence of mass culture on young people. However, this is hindered by the perception that it is being expressed in excessively categorical terms and in such an irritated tone of voice that it would be hardly heard by the young and hardly properly understood. One could abstract oneself from such loud admonitions and hints of concern for the destinies of Russian national culture. However, this concern has long been expressed in a number of areas of ritual and speculative features. But how then to maintain the flame in the fire of just passions, how to intensify stressed exposures the purpose of which is to cleanse the Russian world from foreign heresy and Masonic clever intrigues?

The only way is to put it surreptitiously in a corner. Put it in one journal or another, so that the fire will catch on more strongly.... Mention what was happening before 1917 and not only October but even February! Mention the catastrophes prepared by various Masons, among whom was the deluded Count Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy. Mention the 1920s, why stand on ceremony! There were those who proved that those were times of an upsurge in revolutionary culture, which spread over all national republics, a time of free, although complex development of art. No, it is now being said, it was a time when everything national and classic was being persecuted and, once again, this is presented as some kind of malicious intent. In such cases no proof or knowledge are necessary. Nor is proof necessary to present the figure of Stalin as a result of the development of the global revolutionary process. Even less knowledge is needed when blaming the coercive methods of collectivization to the excesses committed by non-Russians.

One can only regret that such mythology has become a virtually determining aspect of the new "patriotic awareness," immeasurably simplifying it and appealing to base motivations.

When it is being proclaimed loudly that in our country Marxism did not develop in 65 years and that it is only the writers who were able to instill spiritual values in it, clearly, those who say this rely on the ignorance of the audience and on the "pluralism" which "allows" us to say anything in any way we wish.

The old supported myths and the new intensified fears hardly embellish the literary environment. The great Russian literature was unfamiliar with such deviations from its highly humane liberating purpose. However, we must admit that a great deal of what is found in the methods applied in present literary-social polemics is familiar: it reminds us of the methods used toward the end of the 1960s, when the state and the people were being frightened by the mention of Aleksandr Tvardovsky's NOVYY MIR and the then "nihilistic" youth.

Wasting strength in maintaining passions which are distant from the real concerns of the people and the country, during a difficult historical time of transition, weakens the participation of the creative intelligentsia in perestroika. The country expects of the intelligentsia talented works, increased knowledge, spiritual experience, true competence, political realism and wisdom. It is precisely thus that it can justify its historical vocation and purpose and confirm its support of the noble democratic and humanistic traditions of its predecessors and make a real contribution to the great cause of the renovation of its homeland.

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Is The Cost Affordable?

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[Article by Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, candidate of economic sciences, and Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The agenda of the October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was the usual one: annual plan and budget. However, the approach taken to the discussion of these items was noticeably different from what we had noted for many decades. The change which had taken place in the style of work could be described as a turn from ostentation to practicality. Having calmly noted the substantial improvement in the indicators of economic growth for the current year, both reporters focused their attention on unsolved problems. Let us follow their example. Let us consider one of the most grave, if not the gravest of our current economic problems: improving financial health.

The documents related to this topic, discussed at the session, are unprecedented for all postwar decades: a deficit state budget was approved. As was reported by B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance, the budget deficit is not a recent problem; for a number of years the state has spent more than it has taken in. However, so far this had never been mentioned at previous sessions of the supreme authority. The deficit was concealed by the simple means of inflating the amount of budgetary revenues. The truth of the existing deficit was mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and, subsequently, at the conference itself. Now, at the session, the amount was named as well: according to the Law On the State Budget, it would amount to nearly 35 billion rubles for 1989, or more than 7 percent over and above the budget revenue.

Is this much or little? To answer this question we must be able to compare it with international financial statistics. According to accepted practices, a budgetary deficit includes the sum total of expenditures exceeding revenues, including the part which can be covered from a variety of credit sources. As with a family budget, in the state budget

we distinguish between earnings and loans. No one would even conceive of excluding from the U.S. State Budget funds borrowed from the Federal Reserve System.

Let us consider B.I. Gostev's report. The third section of the structure of the state budget income he reported is noteworthy: "Assets Of the General State Loans Fund," estimated at 63.4 billion rubles. However, that is the same source used to finance the deficit. The speaker himself reported that, due to the deficit which developed in 1988, "in order to balance the budget it became necessary to borrow funds from the USSR State Bank." It is true that another source exists as well: increasing our foreign debt. However, its amount, as it were, is coming closer to the accepted safe limit. To exceed it means to risk much greater difficulties in the next 5-year period. The experience of the countries which have taken this path and the sober evaluation of our repayment possibilities urge us firmly to oppose such suggestions.

Therefore, the actual amount which the state budget will borrow next year will come close to 100 billion rubles and, if the case of the current year is repeated, expenditures will grow faster than planned while income will not reach the planned amount and the deficit will be higher.

In world practices, in assessing the financial condition of the state, it is accepted to use the ratio between the deficit and the GNP. Similar results are provided by the correlation between the budget deficit and the 1988 GNP in the USSR. According to the 1989 plan, the amount borrowed by the state budget will exceed 11 percent of the gross national product.

It was accurately noted at the session that using borrowed funds to finance state expenditures is a widespread global practice. What matters most is the scale of borrowing. Let us consider foreign experience.

United States: Between 1980 and 1984, when the growth of the national debt firmly assumed priority in the discussion of the country's economic and political problems, the federal budget deficit amounted to 4.3 percent of the gross national product. The exceptional position held by the United States within the system of global economic relations enabled it to rely on the credit resources of the entire capitalist world and to avoid inflationary outbreaks. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of American economists agree that uncontrolled growth of the national debt remains the most serious threat to long-range prospects for economic development and siphons off a significant part of resources which should be used to increase production efficiency and competitiveness, thus reflecting the irresponsibility of the ruling circles in forming and using the budget.

In countries in which the relative size of the budget deficit is higher and the possibility of attracting additional foreign loans is limited, the negative consequences are manifested immediately.

Argentina: Over the past 3 years the state budget deficit has amounted to approximately 7 percent of the gross national product. The 1985 inflation was in the range of 1,000 percent. The effort to freeze wages and prices and to implement a fiscal reform made it possible, in mid-1986, to lower the inflationary rate to 80 percent. However, the losses experienced by state enterprises and the continuing high budget deficit made consolidating the success impossible. By June 1988 the growth rate of prices had jumped to 322 percent.

Brazil: The 1985 budget deficit was 5 percent of the GNP. At the start of 1986 the rate of inflation had reached 260 percent. Wage and price freezes made it possible to lower it at the start of 1987 to 62 percent. However, this success was of short duration. The budget deficit continued to grow in 1987 as well, reaching 7 percent of the GNP. In May 1988 price increases were exceeding 450 percent on an annual average.

Israel: In 1985 the budget deficit equaled 15 percent of the GNP. The growth rate of prices was 400 percent. Increased American financial aid made it possible, in 1986, drastically to reduce and, in 1987, virtually to wipe out the deficit. The rate of inflation dropped to 20 percent.

We spoke of the capitalist countries where, as a rule, major reserves exist (production capacities, manpower) the involvement of which in economic activities is stimulated by increased budget outlays. The USSR has virtually no such reserves and the budget deficit is a purely inflationary factor.

Other examples borrowed from the socialist countries, such as Yugoslavia and Poland, could be cited as well. All of them lead to the same conclusion: unless the financial situation of the state can be corrected quickly, a high inflationary rate will become part of our reality also. Compared with this, the question of the doubled price of meat, which has worked up our entire society, will be reduced no more than a partial problem. It is true that under the conditions of the direct administrative setting of state prices inflation is manifested less in price increases than in the disappearance of commodities from the market. However, does this make the situation any easier?

At this point we are coming to the question of the way the budget deficit influences conditions of daily life of the Soviet person. An evaluation of the market situation was provided in the report by Yu.D. Maslyukov, USSR Gosplan chairman. He noted that unsatisfied population demand has reached tens of billions of rubles and that increased income continues to outstrip the growth of

commodity output. Whenever one or another commodity is unavailable in the stores, one could ask enterprises and organizations in charge of producing such commodities. However, when the list of scarce goods is growing on a daily basis, when items in daily demand disappear and when goods the production of which is not diminishing become scarce, usual references to production difficulties no longer satisfy. The answer should be sought in the study of the financial situation. The report submitted by the minister of finance directly pointed out the economic unjustifiability of printing money and tolerating inflation.

The reasons for the increased disproportion on the consumer market may be traced to weaknesses in past economic development. However, they have now become apparent. Extensive economic growth made excessive reliance on unhealthy income from the sale of vodka necessary. The reduction of such sales at the start of the 12th 5-Year Plan deprived the budget of more than 36 billion rubles. The backward structure of exports made foreign trade vulnerable to fluctuations in petroleum prices, the drop in which created a loss of nearly 40 billion rubles. The extreme lagging of the social area made it necessary to allocate an additional 18 billion rubles for its development, over and above the 5-year plan. Eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident cost in excess of 8 billion rubles. It is not astounding that after such a series of unforeseen blows the market balance weakened and began to break down visibly: despite increased production of commodities and services, the amount of cash not backed by commodities is increasing much more rapidly. Under these circumstances, prescriptions which only recently seemed adequate are no longer satisfactory. Thus, we had always thought that a market balance can be ensured through faster increase in labor productivity compared to the growth of monetary income. However, if non-priority construction is carried out or if goods not in demand are being produced, could there be any great change as a result of increased labor productivity in these areas? In any case, the wages paid to the participants in such output are a net loss from the viewpoint of the market balance. By clinging to the customary administrative measures and intensifying control over the correlation between productivity and wages, we shall not come closer to the solution of the problems of the consumer market even by an iota. Today priority is given to the structure of public production and the correlation between population monetary income and the production of commodities and paid services.

Unfortunately, this correlation is continuing to worsen. Unsatisfied demand is growing despite the greater efforts made to increase further the production of commodities: the losses which have been experienced within a short time have been excessively high. Increasing production requires time. If we wish to accelerate the restoration of the balance we must contribute more actively from another side as well: reduce the amount of unsecured

money. In budgetary language this means that if we cannot increase income even faster, we must reduce expenditures.

In our economic circumstances, what does a major deficit in the state budget mean? It means that some of the money which has been paid out will not be backed by commodities and services. After the people lose the hope of converting such cash into commodities, the cash goes into savings accounts and, subsequently, borrowed by the state budget, will be used to finance the building of yet another canal or foundation of a building. Construction projects financed out of central funds, with inflated state investments, absorb most of the resources, leaving a very small amount for capital investments by enterprises. The deficit may also mean that enterprises which have accumulated cost accounting funds are unable to purchase equipment or engage in industrial or sociocultural construction. It is without their agreement that the state decides how to spend funds from inactive accounts. This also means that the printing presses of the State Mint will be working at full capacity while notes of higher denominations will appear ever more frequently in the trade system. Finally, it means that steadily, despite the strictest possible instructions, retail prices will be rising.

There are many who think that the initiated reform, having opened the way to increased efficiency, will in itself make it possible to solve budgetary problems. Such hopes were expressed at the session as well. Unfortunately, it is the inverse ratio that is more realistic: unless major steps aimed at the elimination of financial disproportions are taken, the failure of the reform becomes predetermined. Money with which there is nothing to buy cannot be an efficient incentive. Global experience confirms that economic methods and market control under the conditions of such a scarcity could operate only with an increase in prices by dozens or hundreds of factors. Understandably, we cannot do this. The efforts to pay for state profligacy by the population has nothing in common with the objectives of perestroika.

That is why today there is no social problem the existence of which could be justified by postponing financial improvements. One could and should argue and consider priorities in assigning additional public funds, such as the enhancement of the agroindustrial complex, the development of a power base or strengthening defense capability. However, such an argument makes no sense if the state not only does not have the necessary additional funds but its expenditures, not backed by real resources, are ruining the country as it were.

There is only one way to change the situation rapidly: a decisive cut in state expenditures. In 1989 a total of 172.7 billion rubles—the highest expenditure item—will be appropriated for the centralized financing of economic sectors. Of this amount, 82.1 billion will consist of state capital investments. This includes some subsidies to losing enterprises. This is not only the biggest but also

the most realistic reserve in the economy, for it is widely known that state budget funds ("nobody's") are used much less thrifflily than the funds of an enterprise operating on a cost accounting basis ("one's own"). What can be said of the results of efforts made so far in this direction? As the materials of the session indicate, as in the past construction of many projects requires double or triple the time originally stipulated. More than 9 billion rubles remain frozen in overdue unfinished construction alone; above-norm stocks of uninstalled equipment have reached the 5 billion level; 10 to 11 billion rubles are lost annually as a result of the automatic (i.e., with no substantiation whatsoever) compensation of enterprise losses. The conversion from allocating free investment funds instead of loans to be repaid is described in the report by the minister of finance only as a "promising method," which is as yet to be "profoundly and comprehensively developed." Yet suggestions about applying this method have been known for dozens of years. Could we continue to "postpone" for the future urgent measures which have long become pressing?

The current economic contradictions are manifested nowhere more clearly than in the agroindustrial complex. Obviously, the food problem has assumed total priority. It may seem that we would spare nothing for the sake of rapidly correcting the situation in this case. However, that is precisely why it is particularly important for us to preserve our sober assessment of the consequences of the decisions we make. The first impulse is immediately to throw additional budget funds at a problem. But let us recall that at the start of the 1970s a flow of resources, unprecedented from the viewpoint of international comparisons, went into that area. Between 1971 and 1985 capital investments totaling 579.6 billion rubles were channeled into agriculture. And what happened? The average annual volume of the net output created by the sector in comparable prices in 1980-1981 was almost exactly 10 percent lower than in 1970. Starting with 1982 it began to rise gradually. Its average for 1985-1986, however, merely reached the 1970 level. A total of 113.5 billion rubles were spent on reclamation and development of reclaimed land alone. In recent years, the volume of discarded irrigated land has almost equaled the size of the newly irrigated areas. An unprejudiced analysis would indicate that in this case it is senseless to argue about the time needed for the recovery of investments. Considering the current economic conditions, projects are being implemented which will never be recovered. They are a net loss to the national economy, wasted money.

The key to a successful new agrarian policy lies in restructuring economic relations in the countryside. It is only by solving this problem that we could rely on the fact that resources will begin to yield returns. That is precisely why here as well success depends on healthy finances, a strong ruble, an active anti-inflationary policy and shifting the center of gravity from state investments to investments based on cost accounting, as was suggested from the rostrum of the 19th Conference

(naturally, it is a question of reducing investments made by the state in material production and not of savings at the expense of the social area). Any steps which undermine financial health also have a direct impact on the agroindustrial complex.

Of late great attention has been focused on the problem of food subsidies. We could abandon them only by compensating for the losses suffered by the population. Therefore, although a change in the structure of retail prices is necessary, it is only options according to which the state budget would not benefit in any way that would be acceptable from the sociopolitical viewpoint. However, while people are debating and resolutions are being drafted, subsidies are growing so rapidly that the state is simply unable to withstand such outlays on such a scale. The only real way of lowering such outlays is abandoning excessive expenditures and payments from the budget caused by irresponsibility and waste. A number of good ideas have been expressed in this connection. Characteristically, it is precisely these problems which were extremely poorly reflected in the discussion of the plan and the budget. What prevailed here was an entirely different leitmotif: give us more state funds. The 1989 budget allocates to the agroindustrial complex 108.8 billion rubles.

At the start of the 1920s, when he held the position of people's commissar of finance, G. Sokolnikov, who fiercely fought for reducing the budgetary deficit and abandoning the financing of state expenditures by printing money, suggested that a signboard be raised on the Higher Council of the National Economy: Emission is the opium of the national economy. Today as well anyone who is responsible for the formulation and implementation of economic policy should remember this.

At the session, the report submitted by the minister of finance stipulated that "the rule must be that always and in everything we must correlate income with expenditures and learn to live within our means." Indeed, this is necessary. It is very necessary. The overwhelming majority of enterprises have still not learned this. Suffice it to say that the enterprises spend more than 30 billion rubles in salaries to their administrative personnel. However, should the state not set the example by matching expenditures with revenue?

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People and Steel

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[Article by N. Nikolayev]

[Text] For dozens of years a painting has hung in the lobby of the Palace of Culture where the 19th Accountability and Election Party Conference of the Metallurgical Combine imeni V.I. Lenin in Nizhniy Tagil, was held: against a

background of an industrial panorama, including various smokestacks and multicolored smoke, two boys and a girl are energetically marching, wearing their special clothing and hard hats. As conceived by the painter, they should exude total optimism concerning the just completed huge plant and their future. At the same time, this reminds us that it is only history that has the power to test the strength and accuracy of any initiative or feeling.... A great deal of events occurred in the life of this enterprise, which traces its roots to the 18th century, to the time of the industrial development of the Urals. As always, the yardstick of the activities of thousands of people had been the thousands of pounds or tons of output, plus the volume of the blast and Martin furnaces, the converters and the productivity of the rolling mills. The rest had been discussed as a second priority or even as the last item, depending on the connection between a given problem and the quantity and quality of the metal which had been smelted and rolled.

No, to this day this basic metallurgical indicator remains valid and continues to define the most essential features in the life of the NTMK collective. However, at their party conference the combine's party members made a serious attempt to abandon an old tradition by focusing their debates not on steel and rolled metal but on man, with the full complexity and contradictoriness of the factors which influence his awareness, feelings and labor returns. As the discussion which was held here indicated, the way the combine and its party organization consider their vital problems, as was emphasized by the participants in the conference, is a direct result of perestroika and is considerably more profound and stricter than the concepts which prevailed until recently. What are the features of the turn which took place in the "extrasectorial" interpretation of reality and the comprehensive evaluation of the role and place of the combine in the city's structure?

Unquestionably, the report submitted by N. Sharov, party committee secretary, included a great deal of economics and figures, which found their place in one or another reference to the various combine subdivisions and in connection with their managers or, in short, anything which only 2 or 3 years ago constituted the essential part of the reports submitted by party committees, directly related to material production. What was characteristic, however, was that virtually all the figures quoted in the report, related to the study of the reorganization of the work of the party organization of the NTMK and to the views of the people and their actions, were not ignored by the audience, as they had been in the past. Most of the speeches in the debates were also in line with the report, and were different from the old system which was based on three points: "report on achievements," "individual shortcomings and requests to the management" and, finally, "allow me to assure you".... The party members frankly shared their thoughts and what bothered them and if anyone of the speakers, consciously or subconsciously would suddenly fall into

the ordinary rut of a formal self-report, immediately ironic applause would burst out in the hall. In short, the conference worked in an atmosphere which predisposed the people to an exigent and self-critical analysis of the activities of the party organization in the combine. Yet the atmosphere is, so to say, a superstructural category. Its manifestation was dictated by the processes which, on the one hand, were typical of our reality as a whole and, on the other, were specifically regional.

Above all, it was a question of the ecological situation in Nizhny Tagil, which became critical following the start-up of the 9th coke battery at the NTMK. Although according to the specialists the share of coke-chemical production does not exceed 4.7 percent of the overall volume of effluents discarded by the NTMK, this new project, harmful to the environment, which was accepted for use although quite unfinished, was the final stroke which broke patience of the citizens. Meetings sponsored on the initiative of the Komsomol gorkom and the Autonomous Ecological "Purification" Club provided a powerful impetus to public opinion and the people of Tagil bluntly raised with the management of the city and the combine several questions which required an immediate and honest answer.

The first was the following: What is the limit of growth of the capacities of the metallurgical combine if it is already discarding in the city's air about 630,000 tons annually, which is in excess of the 90 percent of the overall pollution of the air basin caused by the city's industry? Naturally, this was followed by questions on the ability of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the NTMK collective to take into consideration the demands of the public and, in particular, to close down the obsolete coke batteries Nos 1 and 2, which had exceeded their working life, to abandon oxygen blowing at Martin Furnaces, which drastically increases the discharge of polluting substances, and to ensure the normal operation of the purification equipment. Since the combine is one of the ten largest enterprises in the sector, the solution of these and other problems involves millions of rubles. S. Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, came to Nizhny Tagil, and urgent measures were taken to ease the developing situation. Soon after the speech delivered by V. Yarin, machine tool operator at the NTMK, at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which discussed ecological problems, the session held by the city soviet of people's deputies was attended by Yu. Bespalov, USSR minister of chemical industry, S. Voyenushkin, USSR minister of construction materials industry, and L. Radyukovich, USSR first deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy. Priority steps aimed at environmental protection were adopted at the session....

Understandably, the people who had the legitimate right to do so were able to quiet the aroused passions. Nonetheless, one could hardly rely on the constant participation of ministers in the daily activities of the city's industry. How high is the cost of the combine's accounting autonomy? What have the party members at the

NTMK done and what are they doing for the enterprise to develop harmoniously without harming the habitat of its own workers and their families? It was precisely these problems that became the core of the discussions at the accountability and election conference.

Starting with 1 January 1988, the combine has been working under self-financing conditions. As was noted in the party committee report, the enterprise's party organization made a great deal of efforts to prepare itself properly for this most important step. The experience gained in the 2 preceding years had a positive influence: starting with 1986 the economic activities of the enterprise became based on a plan for production marketing, which took into consideration procurements, profits and labor productivity. However, after doing steady work in the first half of the year and achieving substantial savings in terms of production costs and above-plan profits, indicators in many combine shops drastically declined in the third quarter. As a result the planned assignments for commodity output remained underfulfilled by 14 million rubles and the marketing plan by 17 million; cost overruns totaled 6.3 million and profits declined by more than 7 million rubles. In other words, the recent financial well-being of the NTMK was dealt a severe blow. What were the party's conference conclusions on the reasons for this?

The two major breakdowns in the blast and Martin shops had an impact. The party committee strictly punished the culprits for the accident. However, punishing someone is not the most difficult part. It is more difficult and more important thoroughly to understand the reasons for the development of a situation in the course of which levels reached with a great deal of effort are lost and cases of irresponsibility and slackness multiply. An eloquent fact which was cited at the conference was that last year alone and in the first 9 months of 1988 there were 71 recorded breakdowns of technological and mechanical nature at the combine. Withholdings for economic incentive funds will be substantially lower because of reduced production quality and the production of rolled metal goods not ordered by the consumer (piling up tonnage "at all cost"). Such is the price of complacency for which, as practical experience proves, no proper antidote has as yet been found in metallurgy. The accountability report emphasized that at a given stage the party committee and party organizations in the shops failed to notice the occurring lowering of discipline and to determine the reasons for this phenomenon.

However, it would be erroneous to reduce current difficulties experienced by the combine to subjective factors alone. In the course of the conference, at one of the breaks we heard from worker-delegates a brief but meaningful comment: "The fabric tears at the thinnest point!" Here is a situation described in his address by Ye. Kropotov, converter shop party bureau secretary: The cost of the reconstruction of the shop, directly related to solving the city's ecological problems, is some 105 million rubles. As of now, however, entire projects are being

eliminated from the plan, including gas treatment. The reason? It is expensive, one must save! However, such "savings" are like a delayed action mine, and everyone knows it. A similar situation prevailing in their subunits was mentioned at the conference by A. Yevstigneyev, chief of the railroad cars shop, I. Babushkin, chief of shift at the thermoelectric power plant and G. Yakimov, blasting shop attendant. What was happening? Most of the combine's equipment has reached a wear level in excess of 50 percent. Why is it that, although its annual output totals approximately 1.3 billion rubles, the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine is forced literally to try to extricate itself and can barely meet ends in the area of scientific and technical progress?

The main reason, as noted by the participants in the conference, was the severe shortage of production development assets. This fund will total 24 million rubles in 1989. According to the specialists, this amount will be adequate only for maintaining the current level of equipment and technology but by no means would it be able to ensure the qualitative renovation of fixed capital. Let us add to this the old complaint addressed at construction workers: The Tagilstroy Trust, which is the combine's supplier, is extremely unwilling to work in the operating shops where, as we know, it can neither apply its technology nor attain substantial indicators. The party committee accountability report emphasized that "without the technical retooling of the combine steps taken to protect the environment and to ensure the social development of Nizhniy Tagil will be no more than a pious wish. We need true cost accounting and not models of it while funds are being withheld arbitrarily from the combine, rayon and city." This is a noteworthy conclusion dictated by the figure of 23.6 percent.

This is the precise percentage which, as stipulated by the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, in terms of the rates governing the distribution of profits, will be left at the disposal of the NTMK while the rest will go to the sectorial and state budgets. In recent months combine representatives have frequently visited Moscow in an effort to change this correlation and make it, as the people of Tagil feel, more equitable. However, the view of the ministry is the following: the amounts of funds for material incentive and economic rates set for the combine, as for other sectorial enterprises, are consistent with the methodological regulations approved by the state commission in charge of perfecting management and planning of the economic mechanism. According to the method, the NTMK profit is distributed in accordance with the following ratios: 64.6 percent for the state budget, 11.8 percent for the ministry's centralized fund and the rest for the requirements of the labor collective. In this case the share of the enterprise is based on similar withholdings made during the 11th 5-Year Plan. However, how can they be confident, the metallurgical workers ask, that these ratios which were typical of the recent past, apply to the present, when a strong social policy is becoming a prerequisite for the development of the production area?

This problem is especially relevant to Nizhniy Tagil, where the "residual" principle for the shaping of the social infrastructure is severely affecting virtually all aspects of urban life. Whether it is a question of housing construction, health care, schools, kindergartens, trade or public catering, everywhere we see sharp discrepancies between the just requirements of the people and the existing situation. Where can they find funds in order systematically to correct the situation and help themselves and the city to live a worthy life, in accordance with contemporary standards of well-being? Earn those funds, the ministry answers. Display initiative and enterprise and, as the current regulations stipulate, 70 percent of the above-plan profit will be left at the disposal of the enterprise.

As it is currently set up, cost accounting is unable not only to contribute to the programs of the city but even to ensure the full social development of the collective. This conclusion, which was mentioned at the conference, was supported with numerous examples. Here is an excerpt from the statement by S. Okoyemova, head of the housing-communal department of the combine: "There are currently some 40,000 residents of the new Galyano-Gorbunovskiy residential block, most of them metallurgical workers and their families. But let us take an honest look at the organization of this new construction project. Here development is one-sided. Virtually nothing other than square meters of housing is being put up. The layouts are such that there is no place for a workshop or a house club. The microrayon receives its heat from a single water main, with no spare. The sewer pumping station has been set up on a provision basis and is overloaded.... How can we save here? Is it not time for us to become the true masters of our own home?" This time has come. This is confirmed by the quality changes which have taken place in the awareness of the people and in their dignity which is being regained after many years of administrative oppression.

The conference delegates sharply criticized the practice of extending state orders to cover all 100 percent of the volume of output. Here is a typical feature: the suggestion by mill operator V. Mosunov, who described the actions of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy as a tax-in-kind, and who suggested that a collective thought be given as to whether the combine needed such a management at all was met with positive applause. This made it even more difficult for Deputy Minister B. Ashpin, chief of the Main Metallurgical Production Administration. Was he able to find proper arguments to defend the policy of the sector's headquarters concerning the Nizhniy Tagil Combine? B. Ashpin concentrated essentially on enumerating the enterprise's internal faults and reserves. Unquestionably, faults exist and must be eliminated and reserves must be used. However, this is discussed in detail by many of the participants in the conference in their daily selective reports. The deputy minister did not consider in detail in his speech problems of the interrelationship between the enterprise and the ministry. This is regrettable, for the role of the

central economic authorities under the conditions of perestroyka is affecting the people more than ever before. Any audience, and even more so a party audience, today especially values openness, competence and the ability not to ignore sharp angles in a dialogue....

Therefore, the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine is experiencing a difficult period in its life. The collective is testing in practice and formulating a mechanism for the democratic management of production and implementation of social programs. Clearly, it is the party organization of the combine that is the political nucleus, the catalyst of these complex processes. Today it has more than 4,300 members in 121 shop party organizations. What is the moral state of mind of the party members in the combine and what contribution do they make to resolving the common collective concerns?

Judging by the facts which were cited at the conference, the majority of NTMK members are successfully coping with their job obligations and enjoy the respect of the people around them. However, in a number of addresses, against the background of quite traditional criticism and self-criticism, an unusually sharp note of concern was suddenly heard: the party's moral prestige has suffered tangible harm. The party members are short of knowledge and convictions in discussing ideological topics. There have been cases of requests to resign from the CPSU for political reasons; bureaucrats in the party agencies are skillfully adapting to perestroyka without changing their antidemocratic instincts.... Here are statistical figures concerning the growth of the party organization at the NTMK: in the past 10 months the number of people accepted as CPSU members was half that accepted during the same period of last year. For the first time in a long period of time the number of members in the combine's party organization has declined by 92. The number of party members holding key positions in production is declining and the share of pensioners is increasing.

It is hardly necessary to look for the general reason for such phenomena as we consider the practices of the NTMK party organization. Perestroyka, which affects the basic foundations in the life of millions of people, and which is changing a great deal of our customary habits, on the basis of revolutionary positions, cannot develop painlessly. We have behind us, the conference delegates emphasized, rather long and bitter experience in so-called conflict-free development which, when checked, turns out to be dead-ends. Yes, today the party members need courage and endurance, the ability to defend their convictions and to learn the difficult science of glasnost and democracy. However, are such qualities to be found only in historical reserves? Naturally, no. On each occasion the sober analysis of a given critical situation brings to light the specific bearers of party principle-mindedness and their opposites. There also is the pressure of various types of panic-mongers and people who love to engage in general emotional evaluations.

Here is an even which was cited in the accountability report of the party committee: recently V. Shestakov, party bureau secretary at the automotive shop, was exposed for having misused his official position: he built a small cottage with government funds. The demagogues were pleased: "That is what they are, the communists!" Meanwhile, the automotive shop communists unanimously expelled their secretary from the CPSU. The decision of the party organization was supported by 70 nonparty comrades who attended the meeting. One would probably think that after that meeting the reputation of the party members at the automotive transportation shop would not drop by a single iota. As to the substantial decline in the number of new party members, the conclusion reached at the conference was that in addition to other reasons, the main role in this case was the position held by many primary party organization secretaries, who have become tired of enrollment quotas (which is fair) and who have let this matter get entirely out of control (which is wrong and should be corrected), which occurred the moment administrative pressure eased off.

However, it would be controversial to claim that today the party members in the NTMK have the answer to all questions raised by perestroyka, including the choice of ways and means for reaching the targets. The combine's party committee reported to the conference that during the accountability period its main form of work was to review the combativeness of the party organizations. As was pointed out in the report, this method made it possible to increase the responsibility of the party members. During the period under accountability, on seven occasions the party committee considered the course of the review of combativeness in the various party organizations. The report included self-critical remarks concerning this discovered (or, rather, borrowed) form of work. But here is what was noteworthy: while discussing the vital problems in an intelligent and heated way, no single delegate at the conference reviled or praised this review. The sole exception was the combine's General Director V. Novikov who failed to mention even a single word about the review proclaimed by the party committee but who named the most essential shortcomings of the party committee and the administration as proof that they were not struggling for their rights in the city, oblast and the ministry but "were only discussing them like hurt children." One would ask whether the combine's party committee had not found itself in the old rut of campaign-mongering and ostentation with such a permanent review and should it not have openly admitted this now, when the criterion of party work is less oriented toward the number of "measures" and increasingly toward real changes for the better in the life of people?

Difficult and extremely relevant problems are literally attacking today the collective of the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine and its party organization. However, we believe that one problem should be particularly singled out: the participation of the party members in the combine has become significantly more active than in

the past in terms of the development of the social infrastructure in Nizhniy Tagil and the improvement of its air and water basins. "We live in a city of working people but it also depends on all of us for the people of Tagil not to consider themselves hostages of the plants and mines," said S. Barkov, first secretary of the Nizhniy Tagil CPSU Gorkom, in his address to the delegates. It is true that today this most typically Ural city, as regional experts describe Nizhniy Tagil, cannot do without substantial state aid. However, it is also equally accurate that it cannot do without the warm concern of anyone who considers this city his own and who must find and restore the harmonious unity between man and the results of his toil, as is demanded by socialism.

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Unusual Assignments

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[Article by Viktor Viktorovich Ovcharov, SOVETS-KAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent for the Chuvash, Mari and Mordovian ASSRs, Yadrinskiy Rayon, Chuvash ASSR]

[Text] A little under an hour remained until the opening of the accountability and election meeting, and as though anticipating the forthcoming discussion by the kolkhoz party members, Arkadiy Pavlovich Aydak suggested a tour of the nearby countryside and a look at the contour-shaped fields which could be seen particularly clearly now in the autumn weather.

The road, which followed a sloped gully, took the automobile to a low hill covered in thick pine planted over old ravines. The view was one of evenly stretched thin strips of birches, hit by the cold biting winds, evenly separating the disked land into small—250 meters wide—fields. The birch trees were young, as was the initiative which they revealed. I thought: Could these trembling little trees rising along the moisture-collecting ditches, have any influence whatsoever on the land?

As though reading my mind, Aydak brusquely ended his story of technological characteristics of contour strips, anticipating the question with his brief conclusion:

"Actually, last summer, which was droughty, these fields yielded a crop which was 2 to 3 quintals higher than elsewhere."

He hastened back to the car, eager to show the results of the completed shore-propping work along the small Mochkausha River.

A few minutes later, the car came to a stop at the outskirts of the village. While Aydak was explaining to Zh.G. Strokach, the chairman of the State Environmental Committee of the Chuvash ASSR, who had come

with us, the advantages of putting trunks rather than grafted trees along the propped banks, we looked at the river. This river, which until recently was considered doomed, had now become substantially cleaner and deeper. It had gathered strength.

In the past 3 years the Leninskaya Iskra Kolkhoz has developed into a place of pilgrimage for delegations coming from all parts of the country. Naturally, not everyone comes here truly to learn from good experience. Some come for a visit because it is fashionable to do so.

"We have had so many people come here pretending to seek experience," Aydak noted with annoyance, "that it may seem that there should no longer be in our Russian federation any water erosion, vanishing little rivers or forests and fields abandoned by birds and wild animals. Yet, look around you, changes for the better are so few! Why travel, why waste money and why waste someone else's time?"

I remembered this complaint as I sat in the kolkhoz club and listened to the accountability report presented by Party Committee Secretary Vasily Vasilyevich Mareyev. The speaker began with self-criticism, naming his own faults and omissions during the period under accountability. Then, just as seriously, he spoke of the committee members. Nor did he ignore the chairman who had been made member of the party committee at the last accountability and election conference. He noted his organizational capabilities and readiness to involve himself and ability to lead the kolkhoz members. After that he emphasized that he had begun to deal increasingly with the bother caused by the visits of numerous guests while now the party committee feels, in connection with perestroyka, an acute lack of precisely his experience and energy.

To a certain extent, these considerations were consistent with the thoughts which Aydak himself had. Nonetheless, were such distractions on the part of the chairman, those "side" concerns, all that useless and nonmandatory if one would consider them on a somewhat broader basis than strictly domestic kolkhoz interests? I felt like taking up the defense of the chairman and the party committee against the doubts of the usefulness of the additional work they were doing to disseminate the experience of sensible and ecologically safe farming of the land, which the kolkhoz had actively practiced in recent years, freely sharing its "golden" acquisition. Unquestionably, the time has long come to put an end to irresponsibility in mastering progressive experience. But let us assume that even no more than one out of 10 delegations visiting the kolkhoz today, I thought, would apply something of what it had seen back in its farm and one could assume that a tangible addition would result on a national scale.

What are the results! Three years ago, hundreds of kilometers away from Bolshiye Shenerdyany, the Chuvash village which is the central farmstead of Leninskaya Iskra, I heard a rayon land organizer in Kukmorakiy Rayon, in Tatariya, where, like the entire area along the Volga, ravines have become a real catastrophe for agriculture, say the following, in describing the fight against water erosion:

"We are applying Aydak's system!"

I have frequently visited Leninskaya Iskra and walked along the land reconquered from the elements and restored to farming, seen the work of kolkhoz antierosion brigades and teams, and admired their peasant cunning and inventiveness. However, despite the ordinary nature of their work, one nonetheless could not see its essence. And then, all of a sudden, there was a system! A poet accurately said that one can see more from a distance....

Meanwhile, the "worst enemy of ravines," as this land organizer from Tatariya had described Aydak, patiently listened to criticism and, making notes in his notebook, slightly, probably as a sign of agreement, nodded his head. He accepted criticism, for in the past he himself had promoted the unwritten but today properly applied rules of social life in the kolkhoz, which exclude victorious speeches and reject "official immunity," when it becomes a question of just critical remarks.

These are modern rules which, although introduced a long time ago, are consistent with the spirit of perestroyka. Let us give the speaker his due. He stuck closely to the proper procedure. All parts of his report had a critical slant. Another one of its features, which could be seen in the debates as well, should be pointed out: the party members discussed essentially problems which had been in the focal point of attention at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The party members spoke above all on how to increase the contribution of the farm to the implementation of the Food Program. The kolkhoz's current crop had averaged 27.3 quintals per hectare, which is more than 5 quintals above the republic's average. However, it was less than they had harvested in recent years. This was not only the fault of this year's adverse weather conditions. In discussing the unused possibilities of increasing yields, the party members specifically mentioned the need to improve the work of the agronomy service and to make every one of its specialists more productive.

The participants in the meeting also discussed in detail problems of the social development of the farm. A great deal has been and is being done to organize life in Leninskaya Iskra. Its close and more distant neighbors can only envy its new section hospital with a therapy mud bath treatment facility. There is a regular bus line from the kolkhoz to the republic's capital. Currently two eight-grade schools are under construction. To individual house builders, the young above all, the kolkhoz gives

a grant of 5,000 rubles and helps with construction materials. The kolkhoz has its art and equestrian schools. At the meeting the building of a music school was discussed.

Are the kolkhoz working people evenly employed on a year-round basis? This problem does not affect the party members in Leninskaya Iskra alone. The kolkhoz has a brewery. I heard at the meeting that soon a branch of one of the republic's industrial enterprises will be opened here. A shop for winding electric bobbins will provide about 100 jobs, essentially to be filled by women.

The kolkhoz party organization—the largest in the rayon—has more than 160 members. One-third of them, however, are retirees. The question of recruiting young people in the party is assuming, as was noted at the meeting, particular urgency. The organization is aging. Meanwhile, this year only three new party members were accepted. Some party members have adopted a passive attitude and some do not even attend meetings. Not so long ago the kolkhoz party committee reported at the rayon party committee bureau on its work in guiding the shop organizations and party groups, the activeness of which leaves something better to be desired. Unfortunately, at this meeting there was no serious discussion on how the resolution of the party raykom is being implemented.

The participation of party members in environmental protection and land restoration activities was extensively discussed at the meeting. The section dedicated to it in the accountability report was noticeably more thorough and critical than some other. Possibly, such a shift in emphasis in the analysis of the activities of the primary party organization may seem strange. However, there is nothing strange in this. Rather, one could mention an increasingly clearly developing pattern which the kolkhoz members in Leninskaya Iskra were able to detect and realize before the mandatory instructions to this effect had come out.

In this small Chuvash kolkhoz, concern for nature, as the ally in economic activities, has grown from concern of the chairman and the party committee to a general concern. Let us particularly emphasize that entirely specific areas of this collective concern have been assigned to one or another party member in the kolkhoz, who mandatorily must report to the party organization.

For example, Game and Forest Warden A.M. Ussov is in charge of expanding and maintaining the tree plantings at the areas of the former ravines; the development of contour fields is assigned to N.V. Atlasov, chief agronomist. The party also watches over the small rivers flowing on the territory of the farm. The health of each one of them is supervised and preventive measures are assigned as their personal responsibility to various members of the kolkhoz organization. Thus, the small Vyla River is cared for by A.I. Krkalevskaya. A.A. Artemyev

and V.Ya. Ignatyev watch over the small Mochkausha River. Full economic care and party responsibility for the small Orbashka River have been assigned to Brigade Leader L.G. Vasilyeva.

I believe that at accountability and election party conferences one does not hear all that frequently about such unusual standing assignments issued to party members. We may as well admit that so far it has not been usual for party members to report to their comrades that the life of the little river entrusted to them may be in danger or that they have not made suitable efforts to save it. For the time being, there is a great deal more talk about ecological problems and a great deal less about solving them. This makes all the more valuable the initiative of the party members at Leninskaya Iskra, who did not sit back waiting for someone to save and improve the kolkhoz land but jointly undertook this most important project at their own risk and peril.

Naturally, economic successes as well were mentioned in the report. Among others, Mareyev said that for the past 9 years the kolkhoz has not used chemicals in the struggle against plant pests and diseases, and that the use of chemical fertilizers has been reduced to a minimum. Nonetheless, with the help of forces provided by nature itself, with organic means, use of green-manured fallow lands and intensive agrotechnical means, crop yields have been steadily growing with every passing year. Even this past year, which was bad for agriculture along the Volga, the kolkhoz was able to maintain its leading position in the rayon in terms of grain and feed crop growing. The party committee secretary did not fail to note also that it was largely thanks to the creation of a solid feed base for animal husbandry that the strong hope exists here that next year the 5,000 kilogram mark in milk production will be crossed and milk production will increase considerably, and that the plan for the sale of meat to the state has been already overfulfilled....

"That which we have been able to achieve," said the secretary in commenting on the facts cited in the report, "we were able to obtain with a great deal of effort and nervous stress, not only in the fields and the livestock farms. Our achievements may be traced to the work which we did and are doing to protect and improve our native land and nature. That is why let us single out the main among our successes: We have been able totally to stop bottom erosion throughout the kolkhoz territory."

At this point let us leave the meeting and go back to the beginning of everything: to how Aydak developed his authority as chairman or, rather, the way in which this peasant leader of a contemporary type and the present ecological fame of the kolkhoz started.

Arkady Pavlovich is a teacher by training. His knowledge of agricultural production, at the time he was elected chairman, hardly went beyond the range of traditional peasant concepts. Realizing this, from the very first days after assuming his position, he firmly

undertook to train himself. Training priorities and practical tasks were indicated by the features of the kolkhoz land and the painful damage done by the land by water erosion.

It was then that thin student notebooks appeared on the chairman's desk, in which he began to record information on what could and should be done to help the land cope with this ill. From the very beginning the aspiration to act comprehensively and in a state of alliance with nature was the determining feature in the work.

It is true that the kolkhoz members did not trust their young chairman immediately. Nonetheless, at the very first meetings his beliefs made many people start thinking. The first to lend his firm support to the new chairman was the then chief agronomist V.K. Belyakov, who enjoyed a high reputation among the kolkhoz members. Subsequently, he became Aydak's reliable ally in all of his "ecological" initiatives. Together they were able to earn the support of the board and the party committee, and to develop a special antierosion service in the kolkhoz.

Soon afterwards several specialized teams were added to the assistance of the main brigade. Similar units appeared in the school. The chairman led the offensive against the destructive element so skillfully that even the opponents of the innovation themselves became imperceptibly involved in this offensive.

Every spring, families, young and old, began to plant osier-beds along little rivers and streams, along the slopes and at the edges of fields threatened with erosion. Gradually, from a project pursued only by Aydak and Belyakov and the special kolkhoz subunits, the struggle against the ravines became, with the help of the party organization, the common project of the entire kolkhoz population. Several years later, these saplings planted in the ravines and collapsed areas developed into a thick forest growth which beneficially transformed the depressing local landscape.

Over the past slightly more than 20 years many changes have taken place in the kolkhoz fields. Here not only was the spreading of water erosion stopped but the river banks were strengthened and trees were planted. Along with the work to strengthen the banks of ravines, the restoration of the entire destroyed biological world on kolkhoz soil was carried out. Areas which were formerly ravines have been planted in trees and field protection vegetation. Meadows have been seeded along the rivers to prevent further destruction and a decision was made to organize preserved areas within the farm. This was a new level in the development of the environmental protection "Aydak System." In order to work in these areas, which include wild animals and useful birds, and to ensure the sensible expansion and constant care for the new sector, the farm board opened a special position: Kolkhoz Game and Forest Warden.

The position is not particularly high in the kolkhoz table of organization and its holder is not officially member of the group of chief specialists. Furthermore, his area does not seem to be all that wide, amounting to slightly over 200 hectares in natural forests, and 150 hectares of young timber in and around the former ravines. However, the far-reaching ecological plans drawn up by the chairman assign, judging by all available information, an important role to the game and forest warden. Therefore, not a single economic problem, or any area related to the use of kolkhoz land, river or stream, is considered without his advice or without the kolkhoz entomologist, whose position is very new in the village, and who is in charge of developing useful insects the purpose of which is to protect cultivated plants.

The conversion to economical and ecologically harmless technologies, the party members at Leninskaya Iskra believe, should become the logical continuation of previous accomplishments, for it leads to the creation of the type of model of agricultural production which would make it possible to produce a sufficient amount of high-quality goods and will exist in nature on an entirely organic basis. This is the alternative of our time.

That is why in both the accountability report and the debates on the report, the party members in charge of one ecological problem or another in the kolkhoz complex expressed a number of critical remarks and suggestions concerning further improvements in the work. This pertained to V.I. Potapov, in charge of the program for the protection of wild animals, L.A. Markova, a specialist in biological plan protection and in charge of the program for expanding the use of useful insects, and N.V. Atlasov, in charge of developing contour fields for all farm brigades.

What is the characteristic feature of contour farming as applied in Leninskaya Iskra? What was it that attracted Aydak and his supporters to it?

"First," explained N.V. Atlasov in his address at the meeting, "it enables us, with the help of green manure, to maintain in the humus stratum the necessary amount of mineral elements without any chemical substances. Second, it provides moisture without any irrigation which, under our circumstances, is both expensive and power intensive. Third, since our land is hilly, such farming enables us to lease the land and thus to enhance responsibility for it and for nature, and make such responsibility personal.

Actually, this is the view not only of the chief of the kolkhoz crop growing sector. Many of the speakers mentioned leasing as a method for upgrading the productive activity of the farmers and, at the same time, personal responsibility for the land and nature. Among others, this included V.Ya. Ignatyev, chief of the production sector, pensioner N.A. Aleksandrov, N.Ye. Yefimov, head of the livestock farm, nonparty member V.P. Kalashnikov, head of a contracting brigade, and others.

"We have abandoned 'chemistry,'" said A.P. Aydak. "Today we are not simply concerned with increasing yields although this is necessary, it is a law of life. Therefore, we must think hard about finding new reserves for increasing yields and how to handle such yields economically. In order to live better we must work better, we must produce more and at lower costs. The only solution, in my view, is more daringly to convert to new progressive forms of farming, and apply the leasing method more firmly. This was the line adopted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and I, as a delegate to the conference, intend to implement it. Leasing will enable us to come closer to the land, to develop a stronger feel for the land and to manage it better. Leasing will bind the entire kolkhoz complex within a single properly operating organism."

Following the discussions, the floor was given to V.K. Belyakov, a loyal ally of the chairman and, for some time, his official deputy. I anticipated that he would speak, once again, in support of Arkadiy Pavlovich, concerning his future plans. I was right. Vasilii Konstantinovich discussed the most important component of successful work: the reputation of the members of the party committee and the farm leadership in the eyes of the party members and the nonparty kolkhoz members. This was an attempt objectively, with extreme frankness, to determine in the course of the accountability and election party meeting, who was who and who, in the opinion of the people, was able to do something. This is an indication of the pleasing changes which are taking place in the party and the society.

In order to determine how more successfully to advance perestroika, one must have a clear idea of the people on whom one must primarily rely in promoting it; one must know who the people trust and who the people will follow. In preparing for the accountability and election meeting, the party committee had decided to determine this with the help of a specially drafted survey. Before undertaking the nomination of members for the new party committee, Belyakov reported to the meeting the results of the opinion poll conducted among the kolkhoz public.

The assessments turned out varied and unexpected to many of those present. The valuable part was that they showed both the positive and negative qualities of individuals. Every candidate was introduced to the party members as a real person and they were given the opportunity to decide, not blindly but with full responsibility, to whom among their comrades to entrust the fate of the party organization for the forthcoming accountability period. The general view, clearly revealed by the survey, was that the best prepared for the role of leader of the kolkhoz party members was V.V. Mareyev. His nomination was uncontested. And it was precisely Vasilii Vasilievich who was re-elected kolkhoz party committee secretary.

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Nutrition Through the Lens of Public Health
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[Article by Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Ugolev, academician, head of laboratory at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Physiology imeni I.P. Pavlov (Leningrad)]

[Text] "... I would like to hear today constructive suggestions by scientists on the ways and means for solving the food problem..." (V.I. Postnikov, conference delegate and general director of the Stavropolskoye Broiler Production Association).

The nutrition of modern man is to a large extent a compromise between the existing possibilities for the production of foodstuffs and scientific recommendations.

Let me emphasize that, naturally, increasing the production of food products is a most important task. At the same time, however, and in close connection with it, we must also solve the problem of enhancing the standards of nutrition which presume, in particular, the observance of scientific recommendations on the structure of agricultural production, food processing and storage technology and the organization of public and private catering. Postponing the solution of this problem until the necessary standard has been reached in food production would be a grave error.

In our view, the basic sciences have a double attitude toward this problem. First, it is on their basis that concepts are formed on rational nutrition of the different population groups, taking into consideration age and individual characteristics, the functional state, nature of work, climatic conditions, and so on. Second, they determine the development of the most important trends in the production of food products. In this case the achievements of genetics, biochemistry, physiology and biotechnology have begun to play a noticeable role. They have made it possible in recent decades to enhance the productivity of crop growing and animal husbandry throughout the world.

Thanks to the development of basic concepts on biological (physiological and biochemical in particular) mechanisms of nutrition, this area of knowledge has become not only an exceptionally important part of biology and medicine but also a key aspect in practical health care. Mastering the standards of nutrition is closely related to the prevention of many diseases. Therefore, the further development of basic studies in the science of nutrition will, unquestionably, become fruitful in solving a number of health care problems and the implementation of the Food Program.

It would be expedient, with the help of basic studies already carried out, to review a number of important concepts, including those of optimizing human nutrition. This is the purpose of the new theory of adequate nutrition.

Balanced or Adequate?

So far, the solution of many practical problems has been based on the theory of balanced nutrition, which has played a most important role in the development of our concepts concerning a healthy way of life and the organization of the entire production and technological systems related to supplying the population with food products. Its essence is that nutrition was considered a means of maintaining and balancing the molecular structure of the body, i.e., a process of compensation for losses which occur as the result of basic metabolism and work and, in young people, growth. In the course of the digestion of various food products, the necessary components are extracted and the unnecessary ones are discarded. A strict balance is maintained between the quantity and correlation between ingested and discarded substances. In accordance with the theory of balanced nutrition, food consists of different components: strictly nutritive substances, such as proteins, carbohydrates, fats, vitamins, etc., the so-called ballast, and toxic compounds.

Within the framework of the theory of balanced nutrition most important scientific and practical results were obtained. In particular, the irreplaceable amino acids, vitamins, various mineral salts, microelements and other biologically active substances needed for the activities of the organism, were discovered. I repeat, all basic achievements in the area of the contemporary food industry and organization of rational nutrition are the consequences of the application of this theory. It is on its basis that a variety of rations have been developed for the various population groups as well as technologies for the processing of agricultural commodities, including grain crops, refined flours and bread, refined sugar, oil and juices, and so on. All such rations usually proceed from the fact that it is possible to improve the qualities of the food by increasing the content of useful nutritive substances it contains and reducing the share of the ballast.

However, it turned out that refined food products were defective in many areas while "enriched" food was an additional cause of a number of serious diseases, frequently described as the diseases of civilization. They include widespread pathological conditions such as atherosclerosis, hypertonia, diabetes and many others. The experimental testing of a number of conclusions based on the theory of balanced nutrition and the relatively recent basic discoveries in biology and medicine led to the formulation of a new theory, the theory of adequate nutrition, which is distinguished by a number of essential postulates. One of the basic among them is the theory

of balanced nutrition, i.e., the fact that nutrition supports the molecular structure of the organism and satisfies its energy and plastic needs. Other postulates of the adequate nutrition theory may be reduced to the fact that, first of all, man and the higher animals are, in terms of metabolic and trophic relations, essentially supraorganic systems which include the microflora of the gastrointestinal tract. In other words, the most important components of the new theory are concepts of internal ecology or human endoecology.

Second, the theory of adequate nutrition not only links this process to the stream of useful nutritive substances which flow from the gastrointestinal tract to the inner part of the body but also takes into consideration at least three other essentially important flows. The first is that of regulatory substances (hormones and hormone-like compounds), which appear in the endocrinal cells and the intestines. The second is the flow of secondary useful nutritive combinations which are formed as ballast substances under the influence of the bacterial flora in the intestines. The third is the flow of toxic compounds which are the product of the toxic components contained within the food itself and of human economic activities such as, for example, pesticides, and the toxic products of bacterial activities in the intestines.

According to the theory of adequate nutrition, the ballast substances are an evolutionary important component of food, needed for the normal functioning of the gastrointestinal tract and, which is important, for the body as a whole. Older theories considered ballast substances as unnecessary and useless food components.

Therefore, the development of the theory of adequate nutrition, in which the theory of a balanced nutrition is an inseparable component, substantially changes many fundamental concepts in various areas of biology and medicine. Furthermore, the new theory enables us to take a different look at the applied aspects of the science, especially the question of the type of farm crops that should be cultivated and in what ratios. For example, from the positions of contemporary science we must increase the share of products containing ballast substances. It is also clear that we shall require the development of technologies which would preserve in rather than eliminate such substances from food products.

Let us consider a few examples which confirm the need for unifying the efforts of the health care authorities in many departments on the basis of the achievements of the basic sciences and the understanding of the main laws governing rational nutrition. Let me merely emphasize that said examples by no means cover all aspects of this topical problem.

Food Fibers

The idea of improving our food by removing the ballast substances from it was based on the classical concepts of the ideal food and ideal nutrition, which were developed

in accordance with the theory of balanced nutrition. In this connection, the production of refined foods was considered an important objective of the food industry.

In recent years, however, it was proved that food fibers, which are present in fruits, vegetables, grain crops and many other products and which, precisely, were considered a ballast to be removed in food processing, play an important role in the activities of the gastrointestinal tract and have a decisive influence on the habitat of useful bacteria in the intestines and are one of their main sources of food. Food fibers, consequently, influence the activities of the body as a whole. For example, a link has been detected between diseases, such as disturbances in the cholesterol exchange, the formation of gall bladder stones, and so on, and the refining of food products, which is widespread in the developed countries. A number of diseases are related not only to the excessive consumption of proteins and carbohydrates but also the insufficient use of food fibers. According to some studies worthy of attention, the lack of food fibers in the diet could cause cancer in the colon. Furthermore, a number of pathological developments in the gastrointestinal tract and related to metabolism are prevented and treated with the help of food fibers introduced in the nutrition. That is precisely why vegetables and fruits are so useful, and that juices which contain pulp are preferable to purified juices.

The manufacturing of flour, groats and other products of whole wheat has been extensively used since most ancient times and has retained its significance to this day. Bread baked with such flour has long been one of the most popular products in different countries, in Russia in particular. Whole wheat flour has most useful properties which could be increased through the use of modern technologies, as the experience of some foreign countries has indicated. Unfortunately, what prevails in our country today is the production of grain made of refined high-grade flour. This is disadvantageous and, furthermore, significantly different from the kind of flour obtained from whole grain. Thus, it is precisely the nutritive fibers that have been eliminated from that flour, contained in the grain hulls, germs and cyme, the surface stratum of the so-called endosperm. Some 20-25 percent of the grain mass is lost in refining wheat flour, along with a large number of vitamins, mineral salts, lipids and nutritive unsaturated fats. What is particularly bad is that some 30 percent of the most valuable proteins are lost in the course of the hulling.

As we know, the production of flour and groats made of whole wheat demands high standards; the advantages we mentioned could be substantially reduced or even lost unless thorough sanitary-hygiene control is instituted and technological processing standards are observed. However, the health of the people is of prime value, for which reason all possible efforts aimed at attaining the necessary production standards must be made.

The properties of bread and the quality of nutrition (particularly in terms of valuable proteins) can be improved by additional means. Thus, in Great Britain and many other countries, for example, powdered skimmed milk, approximately 60 percent of which consists of easily digestible rich protein of animal origin, is added to the flour. The quality of the bread can be improved also by adding some other commonly available farm products.

Nutrition and Age

The study of the processes of digesting the food at different stages in the development of the human body has identified some fine mechanisms which may not be essential from the viewpoint of the theory of balanced nutrition but, as it turned out, are of essential importance. Man's future and physical and spiritual development are largely determined during the earliest period in his life, which is particularly dramatic in a number of respects. Thus, during that period the gastrointestinal tract has still not developed as an immunological barrier which it subsequently becomes. The organism of the child receives, with his mother's milk, immunoglobulins and other high-molecular component: without their preliminary breakdown. However, should the mother's milk be replaced by the milk of domestic animals (cow milk, for instance), it is precisely the lack of an immunological barrier that could lead to far-reaching adverse consequences. Nonetheless, for reasons which remain largely unclear, most nursing mothers today suffer from hypogalactia, i.e., insufficient breast milk. Consequently, the question of organizing the nutrition of the newly born is a pressing social problem which must be solved. We must profoundly and purposefully study the possibility of optimizing the nutrition of babies. Obviously, it would be justified and just and humane, in the direct and precise meaning of this word, to allocate all reserves of human milk primarily among babies whose immunological barrier is still not functioning. We believe that scientific and organizational efforts in this respect would yield a long-term positive result.

All sorts of inadequate substitutes of mother's milk have an extremely adverse effect on the development of the newly born infants and nursing children. That is why it is only the joint efforts of physicians, scientists, technologists and the mothers themselves that could ensure the normalizing of breast feeding and the proper development of the child.

The period of life which coincides with secondary school and university is very sensitive to nutrition and, particularly, to its defects. It is also clear that even the most sensible recommendations given by medical workers cannot substantially improve the state of health of the young person or the so-called physical standards of the growing generation. The proper nutrition of secondary and higher school students must become an intrinsic component of youth upbringing. This should be the

concern not only of medical personnel but also of educators, working in close touch with parent committees in the schools. Anyone involved in raising the growing generations must firmly accept that it is as important to master the standards of nutrition as any other type of standards—general, physical, psychological, social, behavioral, etc.

Serious problems related to nutrition develop in adults and the elderly. By following scientific recommendations they could not only improve their health but also increase their ability to work and achieve an active long life.

Nutrition Standards

In this brief article I have repeatedly used the word "standards." Conceived in the broadest meaning of the term, I am convinced that it reflects one of the most important requirements of contemporary reality. Neglect of the standards of production, social life and spiritual culture is eventually harshly punished, whether it is a question of the individual, a large collective or an entire economic sector. Conversely, wherever standards are persistently and skillfully developed and all the necessary conditions to this effect have been created, there is success, prosperity, progress and confidence in the future.

If it were possible today to create throughout the world the type of product surpluses which would make their free choice possible, this would not only rescue 800 million people from chronic malnutrition. People would no longer suffer from other major nutritional defects (such as a forced surplus of carbohydrates in the food, which leads to fattening, with its grave consequences). Nonetheless, as the study made in different countries indicates, in itself the adequate production of food does not ensure the maintaining of human health on the optimal level. We need a high nutrition standard and, furthermore, a general understanding of the basic laws of metabolism and take them into consideration in daily life, naturally, with changes based on working and living conditions, climate, and so on. Nutrition standards include the strict observance of scientific recommendations on all stages in the production and processing of food products—in the agroindustrial complex, at food and canning industry enterprises and, naturally, in commerce. It is a question, above all, of observing the rules of hygiene and biology.

The limitations of this article do not allow me to discuss specific problems. Let me say only that with the absorption of food the human body acquires not only the necessary "building" and energy materials but also alien substances which are sometimes harmful or even very harmful and which are accumulated in food products in the course of their long and complex manufacturing process. For that reason it is important for every person in the food industry to remember that he is the feeder of the people in the

profound and precise meaning of this term. He is equally subject to the requirement in the Hippocratic oath of the physicians: "Do not cause harm."

Unfortunately, many of our fellow citizens engaged in farm work forget that it is precisely they who feed the people and not simply produce goods in thousands or millions of tons. In frequent cases the aspiration to increase yields by all available means leads to the fact that the soil becomes oversaturated with fertilizers, nitrous in particular (other examples could be cited as well). Meanwhile, at the top of the "food pyramid" we find man to whom the increased concentration of nitrites in products is fraught with the risk of liver diseases and even malignant tumors. Nonetheless, we are familiar with the tremendous success achieved in obtaining excellent yields on the basis of high-standard farming. Domestic science and agricultural practice here have outstanding traditions related, in particular, to the works of the founder of soil science V.V. Dokuchayev. The vital task of today is carefully to develop and not to lose these traditions.

Whereas ever since the time of Hippocrates food has frequently been equated to the most potent medicine, we must not forget the fact that a substandard medicine is tremendously dangerous. Therefore, we must maintain a high standard of production, transportation and storage of food products. Many aspects of our economy should be reviewed from this angle.

Naturally, however, substantial reserves for improving the health of the people are found in mastering the standards of individual nutrition. Incidentally, this should be considered also as a most essential element in relaxing, a kind of time-out in the stressed life of man, which is filled with a variety of pressures. Favorable and restful conditions are necessary for the normal digestion of the food and for maintaining a normal life rhythm. This should be borne in mind in organizing not only all forms of public but also home catering.

The question of where to acquire a nutrition standard is exceptionally relevant. In my view, certain elements must be included in the anatomy, physiology and hygiene courses taught in institutes and secondary schools. Possibly, nutritional standards should essentially be part of general "knowledge." However, some aspects of nutrition are based on skill and a great deal on understanding.

It is entirely obvious that a special course should be taught, on a very solid basis, at VUZs and colleges in the agroindustrial complex and the health care system. Unfortunately, courses in nutritional hygiene and related courses in gastroenterology lead a pitiful existence in medical institutes. To the best of my knowledge, most medical institutes do not have departments of nutritional hygiene. The creation of such specialized departments is extremely important and topical. Section and

treating physicians in polyclinics should be able to provide the population with accurate and knowledgeable recommendations relative to nutrition.

The major lag in the study of nutritional problems and in developing nutrition standards must be firmly eliminated. Our country has made the greatest possible contributions to mankind in this area. Suffice it to name Avitsenna, I.P. Pavlov, I.I. Mechnikov, Ye.S. London, K.M. Bykov, I.P. Razenkov and others. It is a matter of honor for our scientists, physicians, specialists and educators once again to rise to the highest possible standards in the science and production of food for the population and in the prevention of many of "civilization's diseases," and to create living conditions worthy of the Soviet person, ensuring the good health of the people.

Unfortunately, we must note that in our country not a single journal is published on gastroenterology whereas in Czechoslovakia, for example, there are two. The small periodically published Soviet journal VOPROSY PITANIYA cannot maintain the necessary standards needed for working in and knowledge of this area.

Some Suggestions

After studying the problems I presented here, to the extent of the information available to me, I deem it expedient to suggest the following urgent steps which should be added to those which are being implemented in accordance with the Food Program:

The creation of an efficient supradepartmental state authority with all the necessary powers to control food and food standards. The current services are inefficient in matters of nutritional hygiene;

Drafting on behalf of the government, by the end of this 5-year plan, special recommendations on nutrition for the ethnic groups in our country, as has been done in a number of developed countries, such as the United States. Such recommendations should be consistent with the contemporary level of knowledge and be updated on a 5-year basis;

Organizing the production of foodstuffs the consumption of which would substantially improve population nutrition within the shortest possible time. This should involve the use of the bulk of food proteins, including milk; the share of whole wheat bread and unrefined products, fruits and vegetables should be increased; the industrial manufacturing of food fibers should be organized, etc.;

Taking into consideration, in formulating the standards of a rational nutrition, differences in the reaction of different population age groups to food defects. Above all, we must ensure the high quality of the products for the three most vulnerable groups in this respect: children, adolescents, and pregnant and nursing women;

Paying tireless attention to promoting not only social, moral and spiritual but also biological and physical standards, which would include the elements of ecology, genetics, biochemistry, physiology, etc.;

Publishing several new journals (including a gastroenterological), which would contribute to the development of important areas in Soviet medicine and biology.

The reader may have come across many ideas similar to those expressed here, in various publications and statements by a number of noted physicians. This would be natural to expect. This article is a brief presentation of the problems which affect the entire people and, naturally, medical specialists of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Academy of Medical Sciences. Such problems have been repeatedly discussed in talks in which I have participated. Our general wish is to contribute to the noble cause of upgrading the standard of health care and life of the Soviet people.

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New Philosophy Textbook: The Individual, Individuality, Personality

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[Unsigned article]

[Text] Introduction by L. Grekov, Politizdat deputy editor-in-chief:

The CPSU Central Committee Politizdat is preparing the publication of a new philosophy textbook in 1989. Its authors, who are noted Soviet scientists (headed by Academician I.T. Frolov), faced a difficult task, the essence of which was not to write the latest textbook but to acquaint the readers with the most essential results of the creative development of domestic philosophy in recent years, and to show the organic connection between Soviet philosophy and social practice and depict its critical and constructive possibilities in solving the problems of socialist renovation.

A great many textbooks on philosophy have been published in our country. Some of them are noted for their popular and meaningful presentation of difficult philosophical truths and good philosophical standard. All of them, however, it seems to me, share one major shortcoming. Everything they present is accurate and everything has been checked. However, there are no arguments or comparisons among ideas, concepts and thoughts; there are no clashes among characters and actions. There is only a text which one must read, memorize and retain. Thus presented, Marxist philosophy appears less a higher accomplishment of global cultural developments than training separated with a thick wall from all contemporary philosophical schools. It was thus that, while trying to enhance contemporary

Marxist thinking, it was actually doomed to isolation and stagnation. However, life and scholastic practice convincingly prove that it is impossible to quench the thirst for philosophical knowledge in someone simply by interpreting classical quotations. Marxist philosophical thinking must not be presented as a system of established and unquestionable truths.

It is important to clarify the leitmotif of the new textbook and its conceptual foundations. The authors do not follow the traditional presentation of Marxist philosophy as a doctrine, given once and for all, with a monopoly on truth, and providing in advance complete answers to all sorts of questions. Marxist philosophy is a dynamically developing system, open for dialogue with other philosophical schools in world philosophy, as an integral, interdependent and conflicting universal human phenomenon. It is prepared to borrow from them everything that is best, bright and humanistic, that is related to science and progressive policy, everything that asserts and enhances the value of human existence.

The self-isolation of Marxist knowledge from the other trends in contemporary progressive social thinking is a feature found, to one extent or another, in textbooks dealing with other social sciences. Naturally, such a stance, which does not contribute to the active pluralism of views, impoverishes our training publications and, let us admit it, frequently repels readers from Marxism. That is the reason for which the question was so urgently formulated of abandoning the established obsolete systems and stereotypes and creating new textbooks which would make it possible to structure general education, pedagogical and propaganda work on the basis of new creative principles.

Will "Vvedeniye v Filosofiyu" [Introduction to Philosophy] (the title of the textbook) constitute a noticeable step on the way to second generation textbooks? Let the readers be the judge, those who, with its help, will be exposed to philosophical knowledge. However, we can gain a certain idea of the general trend of the book from the part which follows. It is a section from the chapter "Personality." It deals with "Individual, Individuality and Personality."

We can see a certain purpose in the fact that this textbook is represented by an excerpt dealing with the personality, for it is precisely in considerations about the personality that one could realize the particular difficulty of the topic of man, which is focal to 20th century philosophy, for it is precisely within it that the core of the strategy of social renovation is focused.

History is familiar with a number of examples of evil tyrants who have tried to suppress the personality of man, to eradicate that which in him is individual, special and unique, turning everyone into a cog which would fit any machine. Efforts were made to identify with socialism such an ideology of depersonalization.

Our time, the time of perestroika and renovation, puts the personality in the center of public attention. Today within Soviet society a stable and long-term social demand has assumed its definitive shape, asking for personalities, for outstanding individualities, rather than for a "one-dimensional" man, a kind of "social automaton," but for a person who is free and can think critically, who is unfettered, creative, original and initiative-minded. Without him we cannot reach the line of renovated socialism. This is a society in which the personality of everyone will organically combine within itself the advantages of socialist social relations with the latest revolutionary technology. The historical dispute with a different, with a private-ownership system will be won by a system in which individuals rallied by the principle that the free development of the individual is a prerequisite for the free development of all, live and act.

Increased interest in the personality, in the person as an individual phenomenon, is the feature and the profound trend of social philosophy in our century. In Soviet philosophical science this trend, which began to develop since the end of the 1950s, after the 20th CPSU Congress, obtained a characteristic refraction. The line of philosophical analysis systematically went from debunking the cult of Stalin's personality to the study of a major range of problems related to the topic of man and his personality. The cutting edge of philosophical research included the problem of man and his value in a changing world, the "human dimension" of social and scientific and technical progress, responsibility, guilt, human resources and capabilities, etc. The first works to be published were on such problems and this topic was placed in active scientific circulation and in the curricula. Although this unquestionably positive process was obstructed during the period of stagnation as a result of the abandonment of de-Stalinization in politics and ideology, its study was not entirely halted. The topic of the individual was gradually combined with the topic of humanism and the global problems of civilization and, most important, there was an increased attraction to study individual-personality characteristics of the mass participants in historical actions. The idea of the uniqueness of the personality was crystallized in science and philosophy. It is this that is pointed out by the author of the following excerpt, E.Yu. Solovyev, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy.

These analytical trends did not always make their way or were published. Some manuscripts, which were scientifically and philosophically valuable, remained on the desks of the scientists or were filed away. Nonetheless, some of them were published. For example, toward the end of the 1960s great interest developed in the works of Soviet philosophers who discussed problems of the existence and behavior of the individual under extreme or borderline situations. This has proved to be very useful to the philosophy, science and politics of today, when the pressing and complex problems of renovation have attained their full magnitude and, finally, when the social need for strong, independent, originally thinking

and enterprising people has become fully apparent! It has become quite obvious that in order to contribute to the efforts, in order to have "more socialism," and in order to solve the crucial problems of our development, we do not need fictitiously active cogs, imitators and conformists; we do not need identical and totally equal monads. What we precisely need are personalities, people with their own features and voice, people who, even during the most severe trials, do not abandon either their individuality or their voice.

The inordinate and crucial significance of the post-April realities is that everything within them is directed toward man: the radical economic reform, growing democratization, openness and new thinking. It is under those circumstances that the individual must be formed (or, as F.M. Dostoyevskiy said, "identified"), along with individuals who are clearly aware of the reasons for their behavior, controlling it strictly, subordinating it to a unified strategy in life, consistent with its grandiose nature and objectives.

The Individual, Individuality, Personality

Human society is not some kind of "superorganism," some flexible organs the functional elements of which are individual people. Mankind, at whatever stage in its history we find it, offers quite a rich variety of individualized human beings.

This variety is greater than any other we may note throughout the world and, which is most essential, it could be even greater and more outstanding. Such is the specific nature of human existence and the realization of it has long been an essential topic of social criticism. This does not apply only to the culture of our new times but also to antiquity and the middle-ages, in which philosophers blamed existing society for its failure to value originality in people, for equalizing them and for failure to provide adequate scope for the development of their talents.

It is important to understand that individuals (whether great or small) are the only living and active agents of the historical process. However powerful the developing social body may be, it nonetheless must not be conceived as a hidden puppeteer who is pulling the strings of human puppets. In objecting to the German philosophers-idealists of the 1840s, Marx and Engels persistently emphasized the following: "history does nothing.... It 'does not fight any battles!' It is not 'history' but precisely man, the real living person, who makes everything, who possesses everything and who struggles for everything. 'History' is not any special individual used by man as a means of attaining his own objectives. History is nothing other than the activities of a person pursuing his objectives" (K. Marx and F. Engels "Soch." [Works], vol 2, p 102).

It may seem, initially, that it is a question of something self-evident. But how difficult it is in fact to realize this obviousness in the systematic interpretation of history. How difficult it is not to lose, not to dilute the individual participants in the historical process, whose actions alone weave the real fabric of events, into impersonal mass-like relationships.

Increased interest in man as an individual phenomenon is a characteristic feature of sociophilosophical thinking of the 20th century. In our literature this interest was clearly noted starting with the turn of the 1960s, after the 20th Party Congress. The close attention which a number of Soviet social scientists paid to the topic of the personality, problems of a qualitatively new standard in the development of man and his spiritual-moral integrity, and the efforts made by philosophers to formulate and discuss problems of choice, responsibility, guilt, personal obligations and rights were all part of the symptoms of the future social renovation. In the literature of the time of the cult of personality the concept of the personality was usually used as the antithesis of the concept of the "mass," and referred above all to outstanding social personalities or simply individuals who had been endowed with great power, such as senior leaders and military commanders. To speak of a personality meant to speak of Napoleon, Bismarck or Stalin. The specific feature of philosophical literature of today is that increasingly it is discussing the individual-personality features of the mass participants in history and the typical structure of their actions—their exploits and tragedies. Correspondingly, the topic of the individual is considered no longer simply as "one of the paragraphs of historical materialism" ("The Role Of the Individual In History") but as a separate problem manifestation of the entire topic of man, the understanding of which requires the combined efforts of many disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, ethics, pedagogy, and so on. In this case philosophy deals with the formulation of the basic models and categories which help to integrate the work of scientists in different fields.

A number of terms are used to describe man in Marxist-Leninist philosophy as an individual phenomenon. The most important among them are individual, individuality and personality.

The term "individual" is used, first of all, to identify any separately taken representative of the human species. Nineteenth century philosophy frequently used to this purpose the expression "single," which may be found in modern literature as well.

In sociology, for quite some time the word "individual" has meant a separate representative of a given social entity (a historically defined society or group). The specific features of real life and activities of the specific individual person are not included in this concept. The individual is an isolated item. He is not simply "one" but always "one of many." Differences among people as individuals mean, first of all, differences among the

social groups themselves to which such individuals belong and, secondly, differences based on the extent of the typical features of a given group as they are manifested in its different representatives.

The historical-materialistic understanding of the individual developed on the grounds of previous sociological tradition. In Marxist theory the individual has always been a social individual. This concept was used to emphasize the initial dependence of the individual person on the social circumstances in which his personality was shaped (objective class status, nature of inclusion in public production, the material interest decisive to his group, etc.).

The interpretation of the concept of the individual as an isolated and enclosed monad or as a non-historical natural species to which true social relations are merely "external circumstances" of life, nothing but the existing "habitat," is alien to Marxism. Whenever an individual becomes aware of himself he exists as the product of social relations. Society not simply surrounds the individual but lives "within him." The age in which man was born and was formed, the cultural standard reached by his nation, and the means of activities which distinguish the social group to which he belongs all leave their mark on individual behavior and determine the initial (most frequently subconscious) concepts and realized motivations for actions. Man must not simply "take into consideration" the conditions and possibilities of the existing society but must also acknowledge that he owes to the latter many of his qualities which, initially, may have appeared to him as having been independently acquired. It is precisely in this broad sense (but specific to the concept of the individual) that we should interpret V.I. Lenin's familiar statement to the effect that "one cannot live within a society and be free from it" (*"Poln. Sobr. Soch."* [Complete Collected Works], vol 12, p 104).

In characterizing the individual as the product of social relations, Marxist-Leninist philosophy does not claim in the least that the initial prerequisites for an individual existence (such as the type of education, and family and social circle) predetermine the subsequent behavior of the people, once and for all. To assume that a class or, let us say, professional affiliation of an individual fatally dooms him to committing certain actions would mean to take the path of dangerously vulgarizing Marxist theory.

The irreducibility of man to his sociogroup status and the relative yet essentially important independence of his behavior from the factors which initially formed him, and the ability to be responsible for his own personal aspect and gain, in the eyes of society, a value in terms of his significance, are all factors which are determined not with the help of the concept of the individual but with the help of similar and interrelated concepts of individuality and personality.

Man is the product and subject of social relations. The concept of individual, as we saw, is directed toward the former of these definitions. The concept of individuality and personality are based on self-structuring, thanks to which the specific person can become an active subject of social life. Both are used in defining socially significant qualities which people have developed within themselves. "...The essence of the 'particular individual,'" Marx wrote, "does not consist of his beard, blood or abstract physical nature but his social quality..." (op. cit., vol 1, p 242).

The similarity of the meaning of the terms "individuality" and "personality" leads to the fact that they are frequently used on an interchangeable basis. Nonetheless, the concepts of individuality and personality describe different aspects and different dimensions of what is known as the "socially significant qualities of man." The essence of this difference is gathered from our daily use of the language. We tend to connect the word "individuality" with adjectives such as "vivid," "original," or "creative." As to personality, we usually add "strong," "energetic," or "independent." We value originality in individuality and in personality we rather value independence, self-spontaneity.

A good explanation of the concepts of "individuality" and "personality" is, in our view, provided by the following thought expressed by S.L. Rubinshteyn, the noted Soviet psychologist: "Man represents an individuality by virtue of the existence within him of special, unique properties;" the person is an individual for he has his own face and even in most difficult trials of life he does not lose his face (see S.L. Rubinshteyn, "*Printsipy i Puti Razvitiya Psikhologii*" [Principles and Ways of Development of Psychology]. Moscow, 1959, p 122).

Therefore, the concept of individuality applies, above all, to what is particular, specific and original, that which distinguishes a specific person from other people. It could be considered as the antithesis of the concept of average-typical. It is obvious that it is a question not of an accidental and external originality (the fact that a man could be singled out by virtue of his size, lameness or red hair). To begin with (something which we already know), the concept of individuality indicates the specific socially significant qualities and, second, it mandatorily includes a certain set of such qualities. One-sided originality and one-sided and narrow giftedness are as poorly related to our concept of developed individuality as mediocrity, as belonging to an average type. It is only the variety of social qualities that makes a person truly unique.

In order to make this statement more understandable, let us consider the clear example of the social qualities of a person, such as his capabilities. To be able to do many things, not to be professionally limited, to combine in one's occupation various gifts and to have the ability, if necessary, rapidly to master other types of activities are the most unquestionable manifestation of individual

development. It is no accident that for the past 2 centuries, in explaining what they mean by individuality, philosophers and historians have named the outstanding personalities of the Renaissance. The personalities of that time, F. Engels wrote, "were anything you wish but not people with bourgeois limitations.... At that time there was virtually no single important person who had not engaged in distant travels, not spoken four or five languages, and not been brilliant in several areas of creative endeavor. Leonardo DeVinci was not only a great painter but also a great mathematician, mechanic and engineer to whom we owe important discoveries in many fields of physics. Albrecht Durer was a painter, engraver, sculptor and architect.... Machiavelli was a statesman, historian and poet and, furthermore, the first military writer of our modern times worth mentioning. Luther cleaned up the Augian Stables not only of the church but of the German language. He created the modern German prose and invented the text and melody of a victory choral which could be described as the "Marseillaise" of the 16th century. The heroes of those times had not become as yet the slaves of the division of labor which limited and created one-sidedness, the influence of which we so frequently notice in their descendants.... Hence the fullness and strength of character which made them complete people" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 20, pp 346-347).

In terms of its origin and spirit the concept of individuality may be considered as belonging to the Renaissance, not in the sense that it was the Renaissance which developed the concept (it appeared significantly later) but the fact that the leaders of the Renaissance really depicted the content of the world. The originality of each one of these masters (which was amazing) was the integral manifestation of his many-sidedness. A culture was created in the Italian, Southern-French and German cities of the 15th and first third of the 16th centuries, the leaders of which were the first clearly to demonstrate what, in general, a man could be and what universal talents may be found in every person. The community of leaders of the culture of the Renaissance was like an outline, a harbinger of what all mankind could and should become in the future: an endless variety of individualities with many capabilities.

Naturally, it would be erroneous to idealize the culture of the Renaissance. Let us not forget that, in many respects, it was an elitist spiritual education and needed the sponsorship of rich patrons of the arts and, starting with the end of the 16th century, it entered the stage of aristocratic degeneracy. Nor should we forget the fact that the giants of the Renaissance displayed a moral lack of discrimination and occasionally used their gifts to justify total permissiveness.

Nonetheless, to the majority of Western philosophers who considered the problem of individuality, the Renaissance was a general cultural measure with which they assessed their ideals and their condemnation of the developing capitalist division of labor.

The idea of a full individuality (the Renaissance-humanistic component of modern European culture) assumed an important position in the theoretical views on the future, as developed by Marx and Engels. They conceived of the communist society as the free association of comprehensively developed individuals, every one of whom would make a unique contribution to the tangible social wealth.

The concept of individuality presumes not only a variety of capabilities but also their organic integration within a single entity. The richly gifted person not only has a set, a sum but also a combination of various gifts. One of his talents, as a rule, will dominate all other and will determine the original means through which they are combined.

This circumstance was emphasized by 19th century esthetic theory. In considering the problem of artistic creativity, Goete and the romantic philosophers (Schlegel, Novalis, Schlegel, Schlegel) reached the conclusion that a harmonious variety of abilities is achieved by applying a main vocation-gift or "genius," which distinguishes a specific individual.

The process of self-realization must be entirely free. Vocation is not a role, it is not a task which a person can set himself and then engage in its systematic and methodical implementation. The person's entire purpose and willpower must, precisely, be aimed at "not hindering the genius;" the gift-vocation must "manifest itself within him." Stressed and purposeful efforts are fully necessary for creativity. In themselves, however, they can produce nothing which would satisfy the creator. The pain of creativity only prepares the moment of inspiration, illumination and discovery. As he works, the master simply kneads the clay and it is not he who will sculpt it but his awakened gift. It is only thus that works which strike us with their harmony, and natural and simple nature can be born.

The same applies to the individual integrity of the person. In order for this integrity to be established, a variety of purposeful efforts are needed. However, it is not they that shape the individuality: individuality develops by itself or, more accurately, it happens, it grows from the kernel of gift on a soil which has been plowed by work.

The observations which Goete and the romantics made may be the most vivid description of individuality, which made the explanation of this concept possible. However, they did not find out that this concept by no means covered all human activities. They pointed out (or at least hinted) at the existence of some kind of structure for such activities with the help of and under the aegis of which individuality itself matures, develops and becomes harmonious. It is a question of the structure of the personality, the determining features of which are, precisely, deliberation, purposefulness and projection into the future.

Whereas the concept of individuality can make human activities measurable in terms of originality and uniqueness, comprehensiveness, harmoniousness, and natural behavior, the concept of personality emphasizes the conscious-will principle. The individual deserves the "title" of personality the more clearly he realizes the reasons for his behavior and the stricter he controls it, subordinating it to a unified strategy of life.

Initially the word "person" (*persona*) meant a mask which was put on by an actor in the ancient theater (compare this with the Russian "lichina"). Later it began to indicate the actor himself and his role. The Romans used the word *persona* accompanied by an indication of a social role, an occupation (the *persona* of the father, the king, the judge, the prosecutor, etc.). After converting into a term, into a general expression, the word "person" gradually changed its meaning and even began to indicate its opposite of the meaning given to it in antiquity. The person is someone who does not play the role he has selected and is in no sense an "actor." He takes to his social role (such as revolutionary, researcher, artist, teacher, father) with extreme seriousness; he assumes it as a mission, as a cross to bear, freely but ready to assume the full responsibility related to this role.

The concept of person makes sense only within the system of social relations, only where one could speak of the social role and the totality of roles. However, the concept indicates not an originality or variety of such roles but, above all, a specific understanding by the individual of his own role, his internal attitude toward it, free and interested (or, conversely, forced and formal) in performing it.

In terms of his individuality, man expresses himself through productive actions and steps of interest to us only to the extent to which they are tangibly manifested. The reverse could be said about the person: we are interested in the person precisely because of his actions. The accomplishments of the person themselves (such as labor achievements, discoveries, creative successes) are interpreted by us above all as actions, i.e., as deliberate and free acts of behavior. The person is the initiator of a systematic series of vital events or, as was perfectly put at one point by M.M. Bakhtin, a "subject of deeds." The dignity of the person is determined not by whether a man has been "successful," or whether he is solvent or insolvent, but by the responsibility he has assumed, by what he sets himself to accomplish.

Usually responsibility is perceived not as a very pleasant term (when efforts are made to punish us for an action we always would like to present ourselves as "somewhat not responsible," referring to the development of circumstances, distraction or carelessness, the fact that we were "affected" by something, etc.). However, there is no word more terrible than the word irresponsible. When the psychiatrist passes this sentence, he rejects altogether

the personality of the patient and, along with the possibility of accusing someone, eliminates any possible merits, any significance of the individual and his dignity.

The lot of the irresponsible person is the worst. It is more horrible than any other punishment imposed by the court or any difficulties in life which could befall someone responsible for himself. Let us recall Pushkin's wise statement:

"God protect me from losing my mind. No, better be a shepherd, better labor and be hungry...."

To be a personality is difficult. Let us emphasize that this applies not only to the great outstanding people who have assumed the burden of responsibility for a country, an army or a political or intellectual movement. This applies to any person, to the person in general. For even the most modest role, if it has been seriously chosen, imposes upon an individual an entire set of obligations.

The life of a personality involves permanent effort. It does not exist where the individual refuses to take the risk of a choice, avoids the bitter truth and tries to decline the objective evaluation of his actions and to make a merciless analysis of his inner motivations.

However, it is also difficult not to be a person or, more accurately, it is bitter. The social group, whose members suffer from a stagnating underdevelopment of their personality, seems to prefer to be acknowledged as socially immature, "not entirely responsible," and, therefore, to be disqualified. In the real system of social relations avoiding the making of an independent decision and assuming responsibility are equivalent to agreeing to a supervised life, to petty command-bureaucratic supervision. The people must pay for any difficulty caused by the system of command-administrative management if they lack a conscious-will principle governing their behavior. Let us not even mention the fact that the individual himself, who suffers from such a lack, usually sinks down to a pitiful condition: he becomes lazy, a hypochondriac, a dreamer and prey to envy.

History indicated the nature of a person (not a great or exclusive, but a person in general, the common person, the mass person) at a time when a galaxy of original and many-faceted individuals of the Renaissance appeared in the world. It is true that the arena of this demonstration was not only the culture of the Renaissance itself but the religious early Protestant movement of the 16th century. Its members, who rose against the authoritarian Roman Catholic Church, discovered the previously unknown ability for self-discipline and self-coercion and voluntarily tied themselves to their newly chosen moral and religious requirements. The diktat by the Pope was countered not by an inclination to engage in individualism but by the power of a self-assigned mission and obligation. Persistence, endurance and the self-control of the supporters of young Protestantism have become legend and the words expressed by their first spiritual

leader, Martin Luther, at the Diet in Worms, "Here I stand. I can do no other," became the eternal slogan of personal independent behavior.

The initial philosophically summed up depiction of the structure of this behavior was provided by Kant two centuries later. "Self-discipline," "self-control" and, finally, "the ability to be one's own master" (remember Pushkin's "learn to rule yourself") are the key concepts of Kant's ethical vocabulary. His most important category, which sheds light on the entire problem of the person, is autonomy.

The word "autonomy" has a double meaning. On the one hand, it means simply independence ("to become autonomous in relation to something"). On the other hand (literally) "autonomy" means "self-legality."

How to understand this expression? Is it simply not a question of the fact that a person invents laws for himself? Today he invents one law, tomorrow he obeys another or, in short, he codifies his own arbitrariness, whims and fancies? No, both in ethical tradition and, particularly, in the works of Kant himself, the concept of autonomy (self-legality) implies something entirely different. It is a question of voluntary promotion into a principle, of the fact that a certain rule (or, as Kant himself preferred to say, the "maxim of an action") is assigned by man to himself, once and for all, i.e., placing him above his changing wishes, needs and predilections and above the flexible circumstances to which he must adapt.

It is by raising maxims into principles that a firm strategy of individual behavior begins, which distinguishes the individual from the type of subject who, as Kant says, "shifts here and there, like a swarm of mosquitoes," following either his own inclinations, the circumstances or the pressure of the authorities. The latter is particularly important. A law which the individual sets for himself conflicts (or at least could conflict) with prescriptions and orders issued by outside authorities. My law opposes someone else's law or diktat. The power of this opposition is much greater than that of the individual interest which distinguishes the person as an individual. There are no interests, wishes or material personal attractions which do not yield when the person knows quite accurately that satisfying them would turn into his doom. This cannot be said about principles. Principles are observed whatever the circumstances and, therefore, even when their observance is punishable by death. "Here I stand. I can do no other," and you can do with me whatever you wish, you will not be able to make me change my mind!

What type of rule could a person elevate into a principle? Abstractly speaking, any. Kant himself, for example, had elevated to a law a maxim based on bitter personal experience: never, under any circumstance (even if threatened by death by hunger) borrow money. Nonetheless, he was perfectly aware of the fact that by no

means all rules can be elevated to principles, ensured against revision and reinterpretation, and observed not simply out of stubbornness but because of profound and ever strengthening personal convictions. In order not to repent after having adopted a principle, one must also decide whether that which is being elevated into a principle could become a general law. That is why in addition to the demand of "give yourself a law," Kant raised another demand of the greatest possible importance to his ethics: "Act in such a way that the maxim of your behavior could become at any time the standard of a universal law."

However, there exist only one type of universally significant standards which apply to all times: these are the simplest requirements of morality, such as do not lie, do not steal, do not commit violence. These are things that the person must, above all, raise to the level of his own unquestionable imperative of behavior. It is only on this moral basis that the independence of the individual can be asserted, along with his ability to "dominate himself," and structure his life as a thought-out, consistent "action."

Let us not discuss the contradictions found within Kant's ethical doctrine or study his critique (which is at times profound and substantive) of the specific formulas and proofs he provides. Let us concentrate on the areas in which Kant proved to be right in the universal human sense, that which was his true philosophical discovery which is no less but even, possibly, more important today than it was during his lifetime.

A nihilistic or immoral independence from society cannot exist. Freedom from arbitrary social limitations is achieved only as a result of moral self-restrictions. It is only the person with principles who can independently set targets for himself. It is only on the basis of the latter that true expediency of action, i.e., a stable strategy for life, is possible. Nothing is more alien to individual independence than irresponsibility. Nothing could be more fatal to the integrity of the person than lack of principle.

The most difficult trials which became the lot of the people in the 20th century confirmed the accuracy of these claims. In 1938 the Vienna psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim was sent to a Hitlerite concentration camp. For 2 years, spent in Dachau and Buchenwald, he mentally wrote a book in which he analyzed the state and behavior of people under conditions of monstrous mass experiments conducted by fascism. The book was published in 1960 under the title of *"The Enlightened Heart."*

The purpose of Hitler's concentration camp, according to Bettelheim, was the "amputation of the personality in man," the molding of the "ideal inmate," who would react to the order of the overseer instantly, without thinking, like a machine or a confused child. The fascists worked for this purpose with fanatic persistence, sometimes even ignoring profitability considerations. By keeping people under conditions of chronic malnutrition

and crowded like cattle, using denigrating punishments and supporting a "general background of terror" with the help of arbitrary killings, in the majority of cases they achieved their purpose.

But there was bad luck: the "ideal inmate" turned out, as a rule, to be a totally unviable being. Following the "amputation of his personality," the qualities of individuality and of individuals were destroyed: capabilities were atrophied, memory was lost, and even the self-preservation instinct was dulled. The "ideal inmate" was exhausted but was not hungry until the supervisor would shout "eat!" He moved automatically, he weakened without struggle and, finally, "withered away."

According to Bettelheim, it was either cunning cynics or people with the mentality of a clerk, who had never violated instructions and who had become accustomed to say thoughtlessly "I obeyed orders," who turned out, quicker than anyone else, into "ideal inmates." Conversely, it was those who usually were described as rigorists, "people of duty," and "people with principles," who resisted longer and more successfully than did others the destruction of their personality.

Indicative in this respect were the means which the inmates themselves invented with a view to retaining their personality. One of the camp "veterans" told Bettelheim the following different rules: force yourself to eat whenever possible or to sleep or read if you have even a single free minute and... absolutely brush your teeth every morning. The purpose of these rules was only one: to do what was not prescribed, freely to obey rules which were not set by the camp management. In that case even brushing one's teeth could be an act. It is what we do and what makes us what we are.

In referring to Kant's concepts, Bettelheim formulates his own set of imperatives for camp survival: at all cost "create around yourself an Area of Autonomous Behavior." This area must be wider and stronger the more substantial are the prohibitions voluntarily assumed by a person and the closer they come to basic moral requirements. Under conditions governed by hunger, denigration and slave labor, those who withstood the best were those who had once dared to formulate for their own selves the rules that "under no circumstances will I become an informer," or "I will never participate in a punitive action." Such was the tragic paradox of Camp Life: in order not to die one had to stop fearing the inevitable violent death and chose for himself the death penalty. However, this paradox is concealed within the very concept of a principle (the unconditional imperative). A principle is not a principle if the person is not prepared to suffer losses, be persecuted or, finally, killed for its sake.

We discussed in great detail the book by B. Bettelheim for, considering an extreme situation, he was able to bring to light a certain universal truth about man, a truth which, under conditions of a more or less normal social existence, remains hidden from us.

Morality is not simply a means of social regulation of individual behavior. It is also a means of spiritual-personal survival of the individual. Wherever there is no freely chosen moral obligations (albeit most basic) a general degradation of the person begins, which is particularly rapid under circumstances of a criminal encirclement or a criminal regime. Quite frequently it is also the prologue to self-destruction.

At the beginning of our century French sociologist E. Durkheim pointed out, in his work *"Suicide,"* that as a rule, settling one's accounts with life is preceded by anomy (literally "illegality," "lack of standards," a condition in which nothing is sacred or obligatory to the person). However, even before Durkheim this correlation had been richly documented in fiction. Remember the way Stavrogin ends his life. Remember the deep hatred of mankind shown by Anna Karenina on the eve of her suicide.

"He went and drowned himself," the New Testament tells us about the end of Judas Iscariot, who had abandoned his principle and betrayed his teacher to the enemy. Even the 30 pieces of silver paid for the treason were no longer of any value or interest to Judas. Before his death he threw them back in the face of the priest who had given them to him. To him anomy meant full apathy and escape unto death!

The viability of an animal is instinctively automatic. Human viability rests on the will to live and presumes a constant personal effort. The simplest and initial form of this effort is the free subordination to universal moral prohibitions; a more mature and developed form is to define a meaning of life and create and maintain a certain integral concept of what is desirable, necessary and valuable, which is pertinent to a given specific individual and which inspires and brings life to this individual as a significant "supertask."

The topic of the meaningful vital quest has already been discussed in previous parts of this textbook (Part 1 of Chapter 1 "World Outlook," and Part 1 of Chapter 6 "Life Roots and the Philosophical Meaning of the Problems of Existence"). Let us consider aspects which are essential in understanding the social orientation of the personality.

Above all, let us emphasize that the meaning of life is essentially "superpragmatic": it is related to the question of "why live," rather than the question of how to maintain life and be efficient in practical work. The simplest people realize this perfectly, particularly at times when they suddenly discover routine and the boredom of daily existence. Here is how one of the

characters of V.M. Shukshin expressed himself: "Meaning?!, the heart shrieks. Well, you live, you mature, you give birth to a child, and what then?... Could I be born again! Well? What you have experienced does not count."

Man has become tired of living in an exhaustive regime of simple reproduction of life (satisfaction of vital needs). However, what he wants is not respite, not rest but a new birth of worthy and significant tasks the implementation of which not only does not eliminate but triggers vital energy. Behind his passionate "why?" we see "to what do I dedicate myself?"

In sociology the concept of the meaning of life corresponds to the concept of unquestionable values and ideals. The latter are not reduced to the needs and interests which define the behavior of man as an individual but are most closely related to the moral demands which the individual freely imposes upon himself. Thus, in opposing individual specific cases of unfair distribution of material goods (sometimes for real reasons and frequently to the detriment of his own interests) man mandatorily projects in his thoughts a certain moral order in which the fairness of distribution will become an acknowledged social rule. The principle develops into an objective, into an interpreted and inspiring model of the future (an "ideal type," to use the meaningful concept introduced by M. Weber, the German sociologist of the turn of the century). An aware morally substantiated target setting immediately takes us into history and makes us think about the social laws, global problems and guarantees and possibilities of human development (in this connection, let us recall once again the profound statement by the founders of Marxism: "History is **nothing** other than the activities of the person pursuing his objectives." Let us emphasize: pursuing his objectives and not simply his current interests).

One of the most difficult tasks of the person in the course of his quest for a meaning of life is that of understanding and assessing his own objective social status.

Man does not choose his affiliation with a certain class. It exists independent of his will and knowledge and gives him his most important qualities as a social individual. However, this does not mean in the least that man is simply the function of his class status. As a person he not only can but must adopt a specific attitude toward his class, accept or reject it, reconcile himself with the existing conditions of his class life or choose the path of struggle and protest.

In his article "In Memory of Count Heiden," V.I. Lenin provided the following explanation of this complex problem. A slave unaware of his slavery, wasting his life in silent obedience, is simply a slave. A slave who has become aware of his slavery and has tolerated it, who praises his life and his good master, is a serf and a lout. However, a slave who is aware of his position and rebels against it is a revolutionary.

The situation is the same but the forms of awareness and behavior are different. We could say that a slave who does not realize his slavery is an individual who has not as yet become a person. Conversely, a slave who chooses to be a lackey and a slave who chooses revolutionary protest become opposite personalities.

Nowhere does the beginning of a free self-coercion manifest itself so clearly and expressively as in acts of conscious choice of a social status. Perhaps the most interesting contribution of history to the theory of the personality is that of innumerable examples of convinced and morally motivated breaks with one's class.

For an entire century the best representatives of the Russian nobility, people who were subject to the greatest extent to the moral motivations of compassion and justice, rejected the privileges of their class and dedicated themselves to the struggle for the interests of the oppressed.

It was revolutionaries from the nobility—the Decembrists—who were the first in Russia's history to defend a bourgeois-democratic political program. Class greed was sacrificed to national interests, and narrowly understood nationalism to civic patriotic awareness, consistent with the age of the "universal-historical struggle waged by the peoples against the feudal system" (M.V. Nechkina, "The Sesquicentennial of the Uprising of the Decembrists," *Istoricheskiye Zapiski* [Historical Notes], vol 96, Nauka, Moscow, 1975, p 17). The antimonarchic and antinobility ideal acquired for the Decembrists the importance of a "high principle," a categorical imperative which they were ready to observe even without any hope for victory. As G.V. Plekhanov said, many among the Decembrists "deliberately took up martyrdom." "They had little faith in the immediate success of their uprising" and decided "to die so that with their death point the way to future generations" (G.V. Plekhanov, "Soch.", vol 10, Moscow-Leningrad, 1925, p 367).

Nobility which broke with its own class is a phenomenon without which it is difficult to conceive of the next two stages in the Russian revolutionary movement: the populist and the social democratic. S.L. Perovskaya, V.N. Figner, P.A. Kropotkin, G.V. Plekhanov and A.I. and V.I. Ulyanov were members of the nobility, who became famous as the most dedicated, moral, incorruptible and selfless defenders of the oppressed.

However, converting to the positions of another class is, naturally, not the only possible method through which man exercises the freedom of his social choice. The aspect of individual independence is present in the act of acknowledgment by the individual of his own social group. It is important to understand that here as well there is a gap, a disparity with the familiar preconditions of human existence and the customs and rules which these conditions mandatorily dictate to the individual since the time of his birth.

The way this occurs is clearly seen in the works of the young Marx who gave a great deal of thought to the problem of the conversion of the worker from a victim of capitalist exploitation to a conscious worker, to a participant in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

The young Marx wrote his works at the time of the establishment and spreading of the most merciless form of capitalist exploitation: the factory system. Every hour a process of depersonalization, stultification and even direct suppression of the toiling man was taking place behind the closed factory doors. Marx made this bitter truth public decisively and mercilessly, something which the sentimental and reformist critics of capitalism who had preceded him did not dare to do. Under the domination of capital, he wrote, labor "produces wonderful things for the rich but also produces the impoverishment of the worker.... It creates beauty but also leads to the degeneration of the worker.... It creates intelligence as well as simple-minded cretinism as the lot of the worker" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *"Iz Rannikh Proizvedeniy"* [From Early Works], Moscow, 1956, p 562). "...The refined needs and means for their satisfaction, on the one hand, trigger, on the other, a beastly savagery, and the fullest possible, coarse and abstract simplification of needs..." (ibid., p 600). Here, on the side of labor, prevails "full unnatural neglect" (ibid., p 601).

Such is the worker who, as an individual, has spontaneously been trained by the existing exploiting system. Had this system been eternal and ideally organized, deprived of irreconcilable internal contradictions, as early as the 19th century the proletariat would have turned into "people without personality," into a kind of "ideal inmate" of the capitalist factory forced labor.

However, the capitalist economy is an antagonistic contradictory entity. That same objective process which threatens totally to dehumanize the worker as an individual assigns to the proletarian class the role of irreconcilable fighter against exploitation. In the very first spontaneous battles between labor and capital the workers begin to feel their own sociohistorical power.

The factory also triggers the unparalleled concentration of exploited people and the opportunity to develop their combat solidarity. This opportunity is achieved thanks to the conscious willful effort of the workers' personality. The sense of it is that the proletariat stops identifying himself with his factory-hard labor status (with the "lot" of the hired slave) and makes use of the objective possibilities of his class. Worker solidarity is based on the familiar ideal foundation: on the grounds of socialist enlightenment and the gradually developing knowledge of the historical mission of the proletariat ("...Their objective is, above all, to learn, propaganda, and so on," ibid., p 607). What of it if such education and knowledge are not as yet strictly scientific or consistently revolutionary. They lay the beginning of a lengthy dialectically complex process, for it is thanks to them that the "new need, the need to communicate, appears, and that which

is a means turns into an end" (ibid.). The purpose is the free collective unity of working people, essentially different from the supervised slavish compatibility imposed by capitalism. Within this collectivity it is as though man is reborn into worker and his spiritual resurrection takes place. In describing meetings of French proletarians-socialists, Marx found words amazingly touching and powerful to describe it: "...In their mouths human fraternity is not a phrase but a truth and their faces, hardened by their work, shine with human nobility" (ibid.).

The shaping of a developed personality in thousands of working people who may have been fatally doomed to total depersonalization by the existing order of things is one of the greatest phenomena in history. Such was the first noteworthy gain of the labor movement. At the very start of the last century a mass of independent and dedicated individuals appeared, hammered out of the type of human material which, in the assessment of objectivistic bourgeois statistics was suitable only as a reserve for increased criminality, drunkenness and debauchery.

The worker liberation movement, which rallied the most progressive and the most conscious representatives of the proletariat, saved this entire class from degradation and dehumanization and from the implementation of the most pernicious objective trends of capitalist economic development. As a result of systematic legal protective actions in a number of capitalist countries, extreme forms of impoverishment and exploitative oppression were eliminated (wages increased, the working day was shortened, the rights of workers to education, social security, and so on were legitimized). Thanks to the liberating labor movement bourgeois society was forced to realize that everyone, even the most forgotten representative of the toiling masses, has features of personality and individuality.

We well realize the meaning of the pedagogical requirement that everyone has personality traits. We cannot have willful, firm and responsible adults without showing a child respect for his personal dignity.

This precisely is the case with sociohistorical practice, although here the rule of anticipatory respect is by no means always accepted. The favorite argument of political reactionaries at all times has been to refer to the immature personality of the popular masses.

What kind of personal freedom for the peasants could there be a question of, blabbered the serf owners, if the peasants are nothing but "big children" who have not matured to a level of independence and have become accustomed to their state as wards? Is political independence of backward peoples admissible, the colonizers repeated after them, if those peoples have still not had a taste of civic culture?

As early as the end of the 18th century, progressive social philosophy had found a convincing answer to such rhetorical questions prompted by entirely clear class or caste interests. It was formulated with extreme clarity by W. Humboldt, a most talented representative of German early-bourgeois liberalism: "...Nothing contributes to achieving the maturity needed for freedom as freedom itself. Naturally, this claim will be rejected by those who have all so frequently used the lack of maturity as a pretext for continuing to use oppression. It seems to me, however, that this claim unquestionably stems from the very nature of man. A lack of maturity needed for freedom can be based only on the lack of intellectual and moral forces. This demands work and work means freedom which awakens independence" (W. Humboldt, *"The Language and Philosophy Of Culture."* Progress, Moscow, 1985, p 137). Similar thoughts were expressed by D. Home, A. Smith, J.-J. Rousseau, E.J. Sieyes, I. Kant, I.G. Fichte, A.N. Radishchev, V.G. Belinskiy and A.I. Herzen.

No single nation on earth, no class within that nation, can be considered "civically immature." In the contemporary world there are no social groups whose members would consist of individuals incapable of assuming an individuality and a personality. The presumption of universal capacity is one of the most important general democratic principles now codified in international law. It is accepted by our Marxist theory unconditionally. We are promoting it today particularly actively, when the questions of glasnost and democracy as necessary prerequisites for the development of democratic culture, legal awareness and socially responsible behavior of every member of society have assumed such a pressing nature in our own ideological and political life.

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Lenin's Decrees on the School and Perestroika in the Educational System

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[Article by Vladislav Vasilyevich Pirozhkov, consultant, KOMMUNIST Science and Education Department]

[Text] Seventy years ago the Soviet system issued two decrees: Council of People's Commissars Regulation "On Organizing Public Education in the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic," dated June 1918 and signed by V.I. Lenin, and the Regulation on the Unified Labor School, which came out in October. The former document entrusted overall leadership of public education to the State Education Commission and, in the localities, to the guberniya, uyezd and volost public education departments of the executive committees of the soviets of worker and peasant deputies. The People's Commissariat for Education was put directly in charge of managing scientific and educational institutions of national significance. The latter document was discussed and approved

at the session of the VTsIK and became law. It defined the organization of the Soviet school. The "Fundamental Principles of the Unified Labor School" were issued as an introductory article to it, on behalf of the State Education Commission (published in *KOMMUNIST* No 16 for 1987).

These documents laid the organizational, ideological and theoretical foundations for the restructuring of the entire schooling process.

Unfortunately, the successful development of the school on this basis, as codified in the party program adopted at the eighth RKP(b) Congress, soon came to an end. VKP(b) Central Committee decree, dated 25 August 1931, marked the inauguration of a long series of resolutions which gradually voided the gains of revolutionary pedagogy. In particular, the people's commissariats of education of Union republics were mandated to develop a one-man command management system; the work of the authorities in supervising children's self-management was directed essentially toward upgrading the quality of training and strengthening discipline. Variety in education and training was abolished and the main form of organization of school work was the classroom lesson, which quickly became the center of solving educational problems as well.

All of these steps made the implementation of the party's programmatic requirement of "full implementation of the principles of the unified labor school" impossible.

Today Soviet society is engaged in a revolutionary transition to a qualitatively new status. Its success will largely depend on the way our school will organize the education and training of the growing generations. The February CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized the need for a profound restructuring of its work in accordance with the adopted political recommendations. Specific ways of renovation will be discussed at the forthcoming December All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers. *UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA* published a number of draft documents related to the congress: Regulations on the Secondary General Education School; Regulations on the Rayon (City) Public Education Council; two options on the concept of general secondary education (one drafted by a group set up by the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the other by the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences); draft Regulations on Vocational-Technical Schools and Regulations on the Secondary Specialized Schools. The public will express its views on them.

The variety of opinions presented in the press and in radio and television programs and the editorial mail received by our journal indicate the great interest of teachers, instructors and scientists in formulating clear prospects for action. Unquestionably, turning to the first Leninist decree on the school is of invaluable help in this connection. Naturally, it is not a question simply of going back to its program for the creation of a new type,

a Soviet school, but of interpreting it in terms of contemporary conditions. This need was also felt by the authors of the projects currently under discussion. Let us as well try, on the basis of such a viewpoint, to assess the proposals on reform and management of schools as contained in the published documents.

And so, let us consider the management area. The main task of perestroika here is considered by the authors of the two variants of the concept as leading to the creation of a system of public education school councils (SNO) on the national, republic, oblast, rayon (city) and soviet, empowered to solve all problems related to education on a given territory.

Since it is claimed that the proposed "sociostate management system" is consistent with the intent of the initial Leninist decrees on the school, let us turn to the period of drafting the SNK decree "On Organizing Public Education in the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic." The People's Commissariat for Education believed that any plan dealing with organizing education in the country should be based on the involvement of the masses, the best one being the one in which such work is done by the population. The SNO was considered a territorial self-managing authority. However, bearing in mind that its creation was a lengthy process and that the masses were still insufficiently involved in educational work, a provisional form called for setting up public education departments under the local soviets, guided by the commissariat's instructions. One of the trends in their activities was energetic work in setting up the SNO. The latter were to be of a consultative nature and the agencies through which the population would control the organization of education.

With no reservations whatsoever, the Council of People's Commissars decree assigned management of public education to the public education departments of the local soviets, under which the SNO were to act as control-advisory authorities with the right to submit pertinent questions to the soviet department and to the superior authorities in cases of disagreement with the department.

The fate of the SNO is of instructive value. Unfortunately, the question of the role which they played in the period of establishment of the Soviet system has been poorly studied. We consider incorrect, however, the claim that these forms fell victim to the command-administrative management style. The grounds for this are found in the works of N.K. Krupskaya, who zealously supported the organization of the SNO. In 1918 she wrote that the SNO are appearing only sporadically, despite the decree which requires their "immediate and ubiquitous creation" and that a great many people consider them an unsuitable form of organization. The main objection that the SNO would develop as authorities which would compete with the soviets, which are the true spokesmen for the interests of the masses and within which all management functions should be concentrated,

including those of control was, in her view, groundless, for the reason that the soviets were overwhelmed by work and to expect of them to pay the necessary attention to the activities of the departments under the existing circumstances was useless and that the SNO would deal exclusively with education under the political control of the soviets, would be dependent on them and would contribute to the strengthening of their power.

The logic of development of the soviets in subsequent years and the increased complexity of their structure and functions, the establishment of sections within them, including one for public education, and the appearance of public organizations, such as trade unions, peasant mutual aid committees, "Down With Illiteracy," "Friends of the Children," and other societies, called for a change in this approach.

In her speech "How to Work in Education," delivered at the All-Union Congress of Worker and Peasant Women Members of Soviets (October 1927) Krupakaya already assigned all organizational work to the local soviets and their public education sections. "Comrades from each organization should be assigned to the sections, so that all organizations can help in the work of the village soviets and volost executive committees or city soviets." The SNO were not mentioned. Furthermore, what kind of role could they have played at that time? Could they be intermediaries between social initiatives and the local soviets? This was possible wherever the need to coordinate efforts appeared but, once again, as originating on the initiative of the masses themselves rather than by superior prescriptions.

N.K. Krupakaya linked all subsequent development of Soviet schools to perfecting the activities of the local soviets. "The mass school is a matter for the soviet as a whole," she noted in 1931. "Concern for the school, for the quality of its work and the teacher cannot be simply surrendered to the cultural-consumer section. It must be the work of the entire soviet. The section must work on the basis of soviet assignments and under soviet control. All other sections should assist the cultural-consumer section in its work. The cultural-consumer section should rally the broad Soviet masses... It should rally the work of the voluntary societies and involve the entire aktiv, which takes to heart the cause of the mass school, in implementing Illich's behest on the school. We must also organize the young people, including the adolescents, in the work of the soviets. In this case we must not play a game of setting up headquarters but engaging in persistent daily efforts to improve the schools...."

The introduction of the one-man command principle led to the fact that the public education departments, as agencies of the local soviets, became units of departmental public education management, unconditionally implementing its instructions. The negative consequences of the rule of the administrative system are well-known today.

What is being suggested instead? The solution is seen in developing a huge structure, the basic cell of which would be the school (PTU) council, performing its functions on the basis of the principle of the co-management by children and adults and "cooperation in managing the process of their joint activities," and the SNO operating on different levels, as agencies promoting cooperation between society and the state. The public education departments of the local soviets should now work for the SNO and the deputy commissions will be part of the SNO so that they may have the status of a legitimate legislative authority. It is a question of establishing the type of system which would totally take over from the soviets of people's deputies in one of the most important areas of their activities.

Is such a plan consistent with Lenin's decree and the experience gained in building of the Soviet schools in the first decade after the establishment of Soviet rule? We see from the history of this matter that such is not the case but is its opposite. Could it be, however, that the guidelines of the reform of the political system of our society could provide substantial arguments in favor of this plan? Here again the answer is in the negative.

Let us remember that the resolutions of the 19th Party Conference emphasized that the main trend in the reform of the political system is securing the full power of the soviets of people's deputies as the foundations of socialist statehood and self-management. Accordingly, everything must be decided by the people and their legitimate representatives and function under their direct and efficient control. In the course of the reform the legislative, management and control functions of the soviets will be strengthened. The most important problems of state, economic and sociocultural life will be submitted for their consideration and resolution; the leading position of the elective authorities over the executive ones will be restored. "The organization itself of the work of the soviets should be updated," the resolutions of the conference stipulate. "... There should be a periodical release of deputies from service and production obligations so that they may work in the soviet, its permanent commissions and electoral districts, proceeding from the fact that, within the framework of the law, each soviet has the full possibility of choosing the ways and means of its activities in accordance with local conditions."

The solution to the developing situation should be sought in perfecting the activities of the soviets and upgrading their responsibility for the state of affairs in an important work sector, such as education.

The soviet has the full opportunity to choose the ways and means of its activities. This means that it is precisely the soviet, based on specific conditions, that must determine the ways for establishing its relations with the school. In this case there is scope for creativity, flexibility and linking the initiatives which are born in the course of perestroika to public and state interests. The

range of activities of the soviets, extending over the life and problems of a given city or village, and their long-term development, guarantees the fact that the training of citizens in the school will be structured on the basis of contemporary requirements and not of the yardsticks of yesterday or the day before.

Proper understanding of the role and place of the soviets of people's deputies in the social political system, as reflected in the documents of the 19th Party Conference, makes pertinent in solving problems of their competence, the recommendations drafted on the basis of the summation of all-Union experience, rather than the imposition of universal prescriptions. Yet it is precisely the universal forms that are being offered to us today as a panacea to bureaucratic distortions. The school councils and the SNO are being combined within something resembling the old departmental management system although, true, with the participation of the public. This is a similarity which is not free from the same shortcoming of the old system which concentrated exclusively on the interests of the educational complex.

If we were to acknowledge that the collective of a training institution has the right to pursue its activities on the basis of the principles of self-management, glasnost and democracy, including the right independently to determine the way of organizing the training and education process, why do we have to order it to set up a council? At this point the only proper thing would be a recommendation. Why are we prescribing to the collective not only the form but also the content? An analogy here would be accurate: Let us imagine the council of an enterprise or association, one-third of which would consist of its personnel and two-thirds of members of the public and the parents. This would be nonsense! Yet it is precisely the same proportion that is being suggested in setting up school (PTU) councils.

The rayon (city) SNO is already being set up, although the plan itself is only in the stage of discussion and its implementation will require the agreement of the soviet authorities, for it is a question of interfering in their area of competence. This entire work falls like a heavy burden on shoulders of the collectives of educational institutions and public education departments, wasting (no softer expression is possible) their strength and time, which are so greatly needed in doing real work for perestroika in education. Voices are being heard on all sides that it is difficult to convene such a council, not to mention the fact that it is also necessary to hold a conference empowered to elect it. How to persuade the members of the public, the parents, to attend it so that it may have the stipulated quorum? Meanwhile, the school is in its old state of crisis and for the time being the resolution of this impasse is not even apparent. Following is the view of N. Dubinin, delegate to the 19th Party Conference, people's teacher of the USSR, and director of the boarding school in Vladivostok: "Our autonomy is being only proclaimed and vast areas in which the ordinary teacher or the principal himself do not dare apply their own judgment

remain. As in the past, many interesting initiatives meet the fate of 'eternal experimentation,' while the bureaucratic pendulum keeps swinging at the same speed."

Yes, bearing in mind the considered suggestions on perestroika in management and the creation of SNO at a time when the attitude of the public toward them is only being shaped, prior to the all-Union Congress of Public Education Workers, we must agree with the assessment of this teacher: The pendulum is swinging at the same speed.

Let us consider the text of the draft concept of the state committee, the presentations of which should lay a foundation for contemporary pedagogical thinking.

We are already familiar with the principle of cooperation from the previous presentation: Cooperation between society and the state and between society and the school is to be achieved by the school councils and the SNO. It is they that "cement the new pedagogical thinking" in the interpretation of the educational process. "The pedagogical process is a joint movement by educators and students aimed at attaining the objectives of the education process." Here teacher and student cooperate. The humanizing and democratization of the pedagogical process are reduced to establishing relations of cooperation between students and teachers in the contemporary school.

The classics of Soviet education proceeded from the fact that the basic aspects of any pedagogical process are the following: the environment (school, family, etc., or, in a word, the social environment); the target of the influence (the child, the adolescent) and the organizer of the influence, the educator. It was considered self-evident that the first part includes the other two and that they are dialectically related: the student is both the object (on whom the influence is exerted) and the subject (being a member of the environment). The educator is in the same situation as organizer of the environment, based on the directives of the specific society, in the formulation of which he participates. Let us recall Marx: "The materialistic theory to the effect that the people are the product of circumstances and upbringing and that, consequently, changed people are the product of different circumstances and changed upbringing, is a theory which ignores the fact that it is precisely the people who change and that the educator himself must be educated. This inevitably leads to the division of society into two parts, one of which stands above society..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soc.," [Works], vol 3, p 2).

The sense of the surgical operation which was performed in the 1930s was to "behead" the environment. The pedagogical process was enclosed within a specific framework: the teacher teaches and the student learns. The former demands and, if necessary, punishes; the second obeys. The educators rise above the pupils.

As we see, the pedagogy of cooperation remains within the framework of the same system. It is true that it has been suggested for relations of subordination to be replaced by relations of equality and "cooperation." Naturally, this is a step forward. However, it is a step which leads to preaching love ("love thy neighbor as thyself") but which provides the educator with few real tools for attaining the necessary result. It is not acceptable to mention love in official documents. However, it is precisely to love that the appeals implied in the concept may be reduced: acknowledging the personality of the student and his rights to his own judgment and to make errors, and to stimulate and direct the cognitive and life interests of the students. The educator is asked to remember his responsibility concerning grades, recommendations, requirements and actions. He is ordered to earn the respect and trust of the students, for it is only in that case that he could help the students to become aware of the real motivations and objectives of their behavior and the reasons for their successes or failures. All of this is fair. But what then? Where is the educational technique, where are the methods for the implementation of all of this?

Our teachers need clear and understood guidelines for action and means of restructuring the work of schools. In this case can we limit ourselves to recommendations calling for improving relations with the students? To illustrate this, let us turn to problems of upbringing.

Today all of us agree with the fact that our school provides a poor upbringing. Nonetheless, the question is quite pressing. We know that it is in their childhood that people are most responsive to their upbringing. If anything has been omitted in the school, the possibility exists of closing the gaps in knowledge after school. Gaps in upbringing are virtually impossible to fill. The tasks of upbringing, therefore, now become more difficult. "... Our society is engaged in a revolutionary transition to a qualitatively new state," said M.S. Gorbachev at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. "It needs citizens who are educated, convinced and loyal to socialism and, at the same time, active, seeking, able to live and work under the conditions of democracy and the economic autonomy of collectives, under circumstances of a growing economic and social responsibility for themselves and the country." This means that the school graduate, in addition to his graduation certificate and a certain stock of knowledge, must have, above all, the ability to behave under such circumstances. How is such a skill developed?

Here is the way the science of education answered this question in the 1920s: "Since in the training process a high status must be granted to the individualized approach, in education the most splendid tasks are that of creating a school collective welded by a happy and strong comradeship, the type of things to instill in the heart of the adolescent, as we develop in him and in the public at large the ability truly, with all their hearts to feel themselves a firm part of the great entity. Voluntary

discipline, a spirit of mutual aid, joint work, self-government based on full equality, joint initiatives wherever possible, a variety of labor activities and aspiration toward attaining an overall difficult result are the principles which, along with the study of the past and the present of mankind give us, in the light of scientific socialism, the very type of citizen we need...." ("Fundamental Principles of the Unified Labor School." A characteristic feature is that in its 12 July 1988 issue UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA published the text of the "Fundamental Principles..." but did not include this part. The deletions made by the editors are neither indicated nor stipulated.)

The draft concept proclaims a pedagogy of cooperation within an integral new methodical system "the significance of which far exceeds the limits of the training method," including within it the essential "idea of collectivistic trend" and appealing to learn to make maximal use of the power of the educational collective, public opinion and self-management. However, nothing is said as to how to achieve this. It is important, the draft warns, "to surmount the attitude toward the collective as being a strictly disciplinary instrument."

The "Fundamental Principles..." also include a direct recommendation to the teachers: to organize an educational environment in the school in such a way as to make it consistent with the ideals and aspirations of our society. This creative task is the sense of its professional activities. Furthermore, we also have the necessary technology: It was developed down to its fine points and successfully applied by A.S. Makarenko.

One of the difficult problems in education is coercion and punishment. In the 1930s it was solved in the spirit of the times: the teacher demands, coerces and punishes. In a pedagogy of cooperation this is unacceptable. One of its main ideas, the draft concept stipulates, is "the idea of excluding methods of coercion in studies and the use exclusively of methods which involve the children in the common effort of study, triggering the happy feeling of success, progress and development." But how to implement this idea if no method instructions are provided?

According to the logic of collectivistic upbringing, the best means of handling of puzzlements, actions and violations of public order among children is their collective discussion. Any coercion, assuming that it is necessary, should be sanctioned by the public and not be in the nature of the teacher punishing the student. The teacher should try not to suppress the student with his authority and undertake to do something which the children should do by themselves. His credo must be to exercise indirect influence, to help the students realize the problems which they are encountering in life. All of this is specific and clear and, at the same time, provides scope for creative initiative.

It would also be unfair not to mention the principles of the active approach, professed in the draft concept. A great deal concerning them are being heatedly mentioned, such as "the principles of the active approach must imbue all aspects of school life, the processes of knowledge and upbringing and the labor principle. The activities of the child are the main factor in his development and self-realization." If we are to believe the "Pedagogical Encyclopedia," they have imbued school life since 1964. And what happened? Did school life benefit in any way thanks to this phenomenon? Above all, what type of activities lead to the development of moral qualities? What activities determine the ability to live within a collective under conditions of democracy? How are convictions and loyalty to socialism born? No answers are given.

In keeping with the "Fundamental Principles..." we can say that the main educational role in the collective is performed not by activity but by a set of relations encompassed within the concept of the "socialist way of life."

In formulating the principles of cooperation and the active approach, the draft concept does not provide practical recommendations or answer the question of how should the educator act. Another question is equally important: What is the nature of the work of the educational institution? In the final account, the title of the document, "Concept of General Secondary Education," generates in the reader the hope that he will find an answer in it. In restructuring the school we must know the type of baggage with which its graduate will enter life. The school curricula should reflect the requirements of scientific and technical progress and perestroika, singling out their essence and substantiating why something should be precisely what it is. This is needed also in defining the structure of the educational process and its duration. We must take into consideration the laws governing the development of the individual. How else can we substantiate the answer to how many years should our children spend in school? Nor should we forget requirements dictated by the interests of subsequent professional training and continuing education. Unfortunately, the draft concept does not provide answers. It only postulates three school levels: primary, basic and senior. Obviously, finding theoretical guidelines for the new type of pedagogical thinking has not made it possible to deal extensively with such vital problems of school restructuring.

In answer to the question of which among the initial Leninist decrees we should use today in the restructuring of education, let us make another another excursion into history.

Sixty years ago, in an article on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Regulation on the Unified Labor School, N.K. Krupskaya wrote: "The decree itself contains a great deal of features which were of temporary significance and of an administrative nature. The meaning and significance of this decree become particularly

clear in the 'Fundamental Principles of the Labor School'...." She did not specify what precisely was temporary and administrative in nature but deemed necessary once again to remind us of the principles governing the Soviet school, principles which should guide us until they have been fully implemented. "We now have extensive pedagogical literature sufficient to drown or deafen the teacher," Krupskaya noted. "This new pedagogical literature discusses anything one may wish but says very little about the fundamental principles on which our unified labor school rests." Today we note a very similar situation.

Krupskaya demanded that at each major stage in building socialism we should take a close look at the shape of our educational institutions, the content of their work and their activities: Were they consistent with the foundations of our public education system and the possibilities of the given stage? Today something else is being offered to us: To use the ideas of the People's Commissariat of Education concerning the forms of administration and to structure our activities on the basis of the principles of cooperation and the active approach.

Let us recall the political recommendation of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "The fuller embodiment of the Leninist principles in the organization of school affairs and the creation of a modern democratic structure for public education management are decisive prerequisites for accelerating the restructuring of secondary and higher schools."

We have the necessary theoretical foundation. This must be stated firmly and clearly. Furthermore, it is presented in the short, concise and clear "Fundamental Principles of the Unified Labor School," for the classics of Soviet education were fully aware of the fact that this document was in the nature of a prognosis which they were giving us.

Having acknowledged this, we can shift the emphasis in the reform and must realize that the main thing is taking real steps to democratize educational institutions (for the bureaucratic pendulum is still swinging at the same speed) and draft contemporary curricula and textbooks and many other matters considered "petty" compared with efforts to lay the foundations of this project. The faster we advance in this work the sooner the true knights of perestroika will come out of the schools, able not only to consolidate but also to multiply its gains.

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The Reform Is Made by the Teacher

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[Article by Anatoliy Stepanovich Kargin, doctor of pedagogical sciences]

[Text] The nature of the training and education process, its tonality, and its emotional-moral and esthetic aspects

are defined by the teacher. This unquestionably important truth essentially shifts the emphasis in determining the primary and secondary features of school life. Frequently the educator is presented as executing someone's (most frequently the management's) will. Allegedly, he is ready at any moment to switch to working in a new style. It is claimed that all that is necessary is to provide him with the necessary conditions to make him willing to do so. However, frequently the words "but" and "if" are to be found between the wish and the fact.

Despite the tremendous scale of training personnel, a scarcity of teaching cadres is felt even in the large cities, including Moscow and Leningrad. Essentially, the shortage of educators has emasculated the value of certification and threatens once again to turn it into a formal act. Principle-mindedness in this case plays no role in the life of even a weak teacher for it is frequently simply impossible to replace him.

Salary supplements and other benefits have had a positive influence on the stabilization of pedagogical collectives. Ten years ago 22 percent of educators would have liked to change jobs; the percentage today ranges between 7 and 10. This seemingly insignificant percentage represents tens of thousands of educators, who are ready to leave the school today. But are there also many who, although pleased by higher wages and benefits, have changed their attitude toward their job? In this case the data are more eloquent: One-half of all teachers do not like school regulations and the nature of educational activities. Studies conducted in Estonia have indicated that many of them have not accepted the atmosphere of school life and would like to engage in creative work outside the area of education and would and willingly leave their school.

Today's educators, individually and together, must solve the difficult problem of their own inner perestroika. This is perhaps the most difficult feature of the school reform. Many of them, while condemning the command-bureaucratic management style, nonetheless personally support it in their rapport with their students. Antagonism between students and teachers has become a very frequent phenomenon. The teachers have forgotten the main target of their attention. As one "pedagogue" said at the August pedagogy council, today one could work in a school only if the children could be removed and not obstruct....

The interest and concerns of the students have been pushed to the margin of school life. Paradoxically, the center of attention is the impersonal training-education process rather than the personality of the student. Initially this may seem like a theoretical abstraction. In practice, however, it is claimed that the proper organization of the training and education process also guarantees the interest of every student.

Such deformation in the awareness and morality of the teachers' body is the result of rightlessness, time-serving, professional denigration, fear of any kind of dissidence, and lack of attention to the teacher's needs and to the school itself. Nonetheless, the ideas of perestroika have unquestionably met with a response among the teachers. It would be therefore erroneous to fail to see the positive changes which have taken place in the attitude of the teacher toward scholastic affairs. We can see an enhancement of pedagogical thinking, turning to historical and contemporary experience and a sincere interest in understanding what is taking place and the truly revolutionary nature of some suggestions related to school reform. Thanks to the initiative of the pedagogical public, we have finally become acquainted with the creative nature of innovative educators who, for many years, were being subjected to persecution. They are bringing in teacher's circles and in school life a spirit of glasnost and true perestroika.

However, perestroika urgently raises the question of the readiness of the individual teacher to meet its requirements. This readiness shifts from the level of an individual stance to that of the practical implementation of the tasks. This transition is today the key to the solution of many problems. Are teachers ready to make use of the right they have been granted to engage in creative work? Unfortunately, not always and not in everything: They are hindered by mental stereotypes, lack of confidence in their own strength and, occasionally, simply an elementary lack of knowledge, culture and erudition. Creatively developing educators, as surveys have indicated, amount to no more than 5-6 percent (!) of the total. However mistrustful we may be of such figures, they lead us to very sad thoughts. The educators themselves confirm that creativity has abandoned schools. Once again the origins of this fact should be sought in the past, when the significance of the creative system of the founders of Soviet pedagogy was purposefully reduced to naught, and when the gains were simply rejected, while the ideas of Makarenko, Blonskiy, Shatskiy and other innovative pedagogists of that time were criticized.

The search for and introduction of the new approaches is one of the vital tasks in pedagogical practices. We should not be slow in such work, but haste would be even worse. Inertia, habit and stagnation frequently turn into the urge to organize, to apply what is suggested, and so on, as soon as possible, without giving it any particular thought or detailed consideration.

Such haste can be seen today in the activities of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the republic committees, the local management authorities and individual schools. Even the fundamental perestroika documents, such as the draft concept and the Regulation on the Secondary School, bear the imprint of haste. By the end of last school year, as in the past, instructions were issued in some areas to set up by the month of September comprehensive public education councils. Who needs them and why? What would be the nature of

their future activities? No one was able to answer such questions. It was only on 18 August that the draft regulation on public education councils was published for the purpose of public discussion.

The need for a thoughtful interpretation and formulation of a strategy of dynamics, which would link all parts of the project, is replaced by temporary, tactical and cosmetic tasks which embellish the facade, something which is becoming increasingly clear. With the same zeal with which for many years the findings of Shatalov, Ilin and Amonashvili were being concealed and discredited, today they are being disseminated and applied. The central television, the radio and the press are offering the innovators the broadest possible audience. Their methods are being studied at institutes and skill-upgrading departments. It is as though we are apologizing in this manner for the previous lack of attention and catching up with our lagging. Few people realize that as we act thus we are encouraging the formal mastery of methods or, rather, some of their individual aspects. A universal attraction for methods, albeit valuable, is nothing but a rejection of independent research. The easiest thing in education is to master an already invented method and the most difficult, to turn it into an instrument for one's own activities. Education work means the live, the creative interpretation and further development of the method and adapting it to a specific situation. It is this great work that turns the teacher into an educator, a mentor. There are as many methods as there are educators. Such is the aphoristic sense of the work of the teacher. The way our contemporary innovators are structuring and teaching their classes is a model of superior pedagogical art and skill worthy of study and summation. However, it cannot be copied.

We must acknowledge that for the time being no work is being done with education personnel, which would help them to involve themselves in and learn about school perestroika. The ways and means of upgrading skill have not changed or, at best, are merely subject to cosmetic updating. A trend has been noted of replacing one means of command-bureaucratic management with another. The public education authorities occasionally assume the stance of outside observers, shifting all the concerns to the schools while preserving their right to control and punish.

Recently I had the opportunity to talk with one of the heads of public education departments in Kuybyshev Oblast. We discussed matters in depth. In his view, the educators must reorganize and retrain themselves alone. A great deal of literature has been published, so that they must both study and apply their knowledge. If an educator decides to become a reform innovator, let him seek the way himself.

We must not only offer the educator the real opportunity to be the master of the educational process, and to choose textbooks, curricula and methods (it is thus that choices in education are being made) but also teach him how to use his professional freedom.

The role of the school principal and his deputies is particularly important. It is they who determine the moral climate in the collective and who encourage quest. If they care for this work, perestroika will gather speed. Feeling their support, the teacher will apply his entire potential. If the principal is unwilling to show concerns nothing will change. The shortage of true leaders in the schools is already visible. The elections which were held in many schools give no reason for greater optimism, for few people are willing to become principals. This scarcity is particularly painful and should concern the public education authorities.

The place of the teacher should be clearly defined in the basic documents on the reform. Unfortunately, the draft concept on secondary education merely mentions the educator as the main participant in the education process. Nothing is said about his role in the draft Regulation on the School other than that he must be supervised and controlled by the management and the public council. So far, the right of the teacher to engage in creative work has been formulated only halfway, in general terms.

Clearly, we must go back to the discussion of teachers' wages in terms of their differentiation, based on the quality of their work. I believe that it would be quite useful to give the school the right to hire leading specialists and practical workers, paid on an hourly basis, or those who already hold another job. Such people could fill the gap in the permanent collective and set the tone on the most important contemporary problems of culture, art and technology—all that which is of particular interest to modern youth.

Briefly, what we need above all is a critical review of the accumulated experience and the restoration of creativity in school life, in the broad meaning of the term, and converting it into a standard. This can be achieved by granting to the educator the right to engage in creative research, combined with the creation of the type of circumstance and system of requirements with which any other type of work would become simply impossible and unsuitable.

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The School: Road to Renewal

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[Article by Vladimir Fedorovich Matveyev, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA editor in chief]

[Text] Before starting a discussion about the school, let us set the level on which it is to be initiated.

One can see the difficulties and shortcomings which have existed, exist and will exist in any educational system. It is natural, in that case, to seek ways of

eliminating, of surmounting such difficulties, and planning improvements in the various wings of the school building. In terms of our schools and pedagogical science, such was the view taken by the former USSR Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

Yet it is possible, by summoning one's courage, to reject the customary half-hearted admissions and see the severe crisis experienced in the very foundations of our school and pedagogical science. This does not apply to any given wing but to the very layout of the school, which must be redrafted without, however, destroying the foundations of the Leninist socialist school and its entire viability.

Therefore, what is the true situation of the school: Is it one of crisis or individual shortcomings? Let us admit that the answer to this question is by no means simple.

Yes, with rare and happy exceptions, to the children the school is a place where they are forced to memorize a tremendous volume of disparate and frequently unnecessary information.

To the parents it means the constant need to participate in unpleasant and frequently vexing "analyses" or "explanations" or else to perform various chores (to wash windows or floors). The quality of the training of the children is such that most frequently parents hire a tutor for their son or daughter if he or she will be seeking admission to a VUZ. To the teacher it means being on edge, endless bookishness, fear of the next investigation and the need, one way or another, to "extricate" himself with a few remarks in his file.

Finally, to society as a whole, the product of the school's work is young people who are not fully developed physically and, frequently, are not entirely healthy, with largely obsolete knowledge, frequently unprepared for a healthy way of life and independent work, and unable to assume responsibility and, above all, individuals who are "averaged," with undetected or suppressed individual-creative principles, confused ideals and a relativistic morality.

Nonetheless, I believe that the answer to the question remains unclear. The entire point is, what should be adopted as the objective of the school?

In our country, until very recently this objective had been formulated in very general terms: to train a comprehensively developed harmonious personality. Starting with the 1930s, however, the subtext provided a refinement: to train knowledgeable workers, people who would have minimal difficulty in becoming part of the impersonal socioeconomic mechanism of the state, reliably functioning "cogs," after school graduation.

It was self-evident that no one had proclaimed this aloud. However, this precisely was the task implemented by the school, while everything else, such as the development of the personality, culture, and so on, was shoved into the background. Furthermore, the low level of the humanities was not at all considered a shortcoming of the school but a virtual quality, a prerequisite which contributed rather than hindered the display of praiseworthy obedience.

Like any other social system, the administrative-command system needed new generations to ensure its reproduction. It also needed a corresponding administrative-command system consistent with its internal structure.

From this viewpoint, the history of our school remains unwritten. Such a future history book will include changes in the People's Commissariat of Education following A. Lunacharskiy's departure, the decree "On the Teaching of Civic History in USSR Schools" (1934) and the decree "On Pedagogical Distortions Within the System of the People's Commissariats of Education" (1936).

Let particularly note this decree. Pedagogy is the comprehensive science of the child, involving physiology, psychology and sociology. Unquestionably, pedagogists in the 1930s made grave mistakes. The very idea, however, was entirely sensible (incidentally, leading pedagogists included scientists such as P. Blonskiy, L. Vygotskiy, N. Basov and L. Zankov). In particular, pedagogists tried to develop objective tests with which to determine the intellectual and other accomplishments of the student, which is something we lack today. The errors made by the Soviet pedagogists were the result of their excessive sociologizing and ideologizing and a dogmatic style of thinking.

How did the decree treat pedagogy? Its best parts, such as the comprehensive psychophysiological approach and concentration on objective methods in pedagogy were declared to be, once and for all, ideological diversions. The worse, such as ideological blinkers, dogmatism and intolerance, were sharply and intermittently strengthened.

That same decree "restored the rights" of pedagogical science. What kind of science was that? Was it the highly humanistic domestic pedagogy practiced by L. Tolstoy, K. Ushinskiy, N. Pirogov and many, many others? Naturally, it was not. Officially, all those names were kept but in fact there was a halt in the efforts to develop pedagogy precisely as a science, i.e., to seek objective methods with which to practice it. It was the pedagogy of suppression that was legitimized.

This was no accident or "error." Stalin was perfectly aware of the importance of the school. He purposefully structured a "Stalinist pedagogy" consistent with his objectives. The reorganized People's Commissariat of Education was entrusted with its implementation.

Like the rest of Stalinism, "Stalinist pedagogy" could not exist without a thick curtain of lies. That is why A. Makarenko, N. Krupskaya and S. Shatakiy were quoted. This was an old method: emasculating the true content of their ideas and turning these living, thinking and searching philosophers into lifeless gold-plated icons with sets of classical quotations. The pedagogy of Stalinism attained its definitive organizational shape in 1943 when, in the middle of the war, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences was organized on Stalin's personal instructions.

However, can it be said that in 45 years of existence the USSR APN did not develop talented scientists or create important scientific works? Naturally, no. People loyal to scientific truth always existed and do exist within and outside the APN. But how difficult things were made for them, working under the tenets of scientific scholasticism, under the rule of scientific monopoly and a virtually total alienation from the needs of the real school.

The school system attained its bureaucratic maturity in the period of stagnation. It was then that teachers, who had been trained and who had begun their careers in the pre-Stalinist period and who still upheld the true standards of the domestic style of teaching, began to leave the classrooms. Increasingly, they were replaced by people who, although energetic and initially enthusiastic, had already been trained in the pedagogy of obedience in school and, especially, in pedagogical institutes. Today they look back regretfully at an educational system which harmed them.

The true slogan of the schools during Brezhnev's period of stagnation could be described as follows: The obedient must raise students in obedience; the dogmatist must raise dogmatists and the nonindependent, raise nonindependent people. Nonetheless, let us repeat it, thousands and thousands of teachers and scientists pursued their selfless endeavors, defending their right to apply their own methods and quests and preserve their dignity as creative workers. Today we respectfully list among those unbowed educators an outstanding galaxy of masters and innovators, such as Sh. Amonashvili, Yu. Azarov, N. Beloshtentov, I. Volkov, N. Guzik, T. Goncharov, V. Davydov, N. Dubinin, A. Zakharenko, I. Ivanov, Ye. Ilin, Ye. Kurkin, S. Lysenkov, L. and B. Nikitin, B. Nemenakiy, D. Ogorodnov, R. Podbolotov, Ye. Potapov, S. Ryabtsev, V. Shatalov, M. Shchetinin and many, many others.

Understandably, in a school ruled by stagnation any new development (that same old computerization) experienced great difficulty, once again entirely consistent with the overall style of state administration. Let us note that at that time the schools did not have to fear any objective investigations of their work. Society, the public—the main consumer of the "output" of the schools—was

forced to keep silent, partly because of the general voicelessness of the period of stagnation and partly because of elimination of the natural ties between school and society.

As a result, school administration assumed a truly exclusive position: It formulated its own forecasts and models and rated its own accomplishments. How else could it be? The school held the absolute monopoly in its area, where it lacked even the slightest competition with any alternate structure.

As to comparisons with the international standards of school education, bearing in mind its higher models, here anything was nipped in the bud. An ideological barrier came into play. Our school was "the best in the world," "the most progressive;" our pedagogical science was Marxist-Leninist and, of course, the most advanced. But how could adolescent drinking, prostitution, drug addiction and crime, which kept increasing with every passing year, have any relation to the activities of a best and most advanced school? The more so since the dimensions of those faults were carefully concealed, downgraded to individual atypical cases, to "certain shortcomings" and "some omissions."

The school is the reflection of society. The reverse, however, is equally true: society is what the school is. It is only now, in the context of the overall dismantling of the administrative system, that the possibility of and need for a radical school reform have appeared. It is only now that its assessment from being double ("low standard" is what we write and "obedience" is what we mean) is becoming uniform. The insight is appearing with difficulty but irreversibly: We must stop the degradation of our school and lead it along the path of revival.

The type of school which will be consistent with the objective requirements of perestroika must be precisely a school of perestroika: It must march in its vanguard, unlike the school of the period of stagnation, which dragged itself behind it. Henceforth it must train people to whom the limit of the current level of awareness is merely the starting point and the self-evident standard of a person who tries to go further in restoring socialism to its fullness, to promote public self-management and self-awareness, self-definition, democracy, common sense and human dignity. It is only this type of person, this type of new generation that could make the perestroika process irreversible.

There will come a time when the historian of the Soviet school (and of our entire society) will make a detailed study of that which occurred within it over the past 3 years, and what is occurring today. He will objectively weigh and evaluate the efforts of supporters of perestroika, of the conservative forces, and of the consequences of our movement "for" or "against" school renovation.

clearly realizes that we are currently in the very epicenter of the struggle. Nonetheless, if we depart even for a second from the constant motion, which either pleases or saddens us, when we neglect what matters or what does not and when we look back, we feel that these 3 years were the equivalent of decades! Every one of us keeps track of victories and defeats. One thing is obvious: The school ship which seemed moored forever, has raised anchor and started moving. But how difficult all this is, and every meter of advance is paid in blood!

As we know, the last school reform was initiated in 1984. It is precisely as of then that many people started keeping count of changes in the schools. This was a mistake. Had we stopped within the limits of this reform, all we would have had to do was to cover the small cracks in the facade of the school buildings. Such was the case of the previous reforms and the other methods we tried....

Matters did not immediately change with the start of perestroika. For quite some time we kept discussing matters on the level of "individual shortcomings," complaining of the low level of knowledge of students and teachers, the "percentage mania," poor physical training, "lack of full consideration" of the individual characteristics of the student, etc. Naturally, each one of these problems was now being discussed more honestly and openly than in the past. Nonetheless, they were not correlated, and we therefore were doomed to keep pouring water through a sieve forever.

A change in the awareness of the public at large, scientists and educators occurred only after the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The plenum did not extensively discuss the school specifically but indicated that in order to achieve a real change in school affairs one should not discuss solely and exclusively the school itself. What we need is an overall political and social orientation in our life and not specific instructions but a principle-minded approach to school problems. This was earmarked at the February 1988 Central Committee Plenum. It widely opened the gate from the averaged, unified and uniform school to the wide field of teachers' independence and creativity. It proclaimed the principle of school differentiation in training and the democratization of the entire public education system. It laid the beginning of the assertion of a new principle for school management: replacing departmental self-isolation with state-public management in which both sides will jointly aspire to a new unity.

The spirit and energy of renovation, which were born after the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, were supported and raised to a new standard by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. People concerned with the

real alternatives.

Immediately, however, the opposition as well took a leap forward.

The leading personalities in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences are not abandoning their efforts to discredit innovative teachers and creators of innovative schools and to halt the dissemination of the ideas of the pedagogy of perestroika, widely supported in our country and, increasingly, in the other socialist countries: the pedagogy of cooperation. In openly competing with it, they have not as yet earned any laurels. To them, however, so far this is of no particular significance, for there also is a second—anonymous and decisive—echelon of opposition.

The strategy they have selected is to keep silent in a state of expectation or else to voice only that which is impeccably correct. The task in this case is to protect the command positions held by the "loyal" cadres and quietly, without public debate, to block access to new people, who have seriously linked themselves to perestroika. Above all, easily changing the names of departments, institutes, and others, by giving them unusual titles, to keep unchanged the principle governing their management: strict diktat from above, desirably with the preservation of anonymity (i.e., guaranteed impunity) in giving orders.

Let us consider the development of recent events.

Soon after the February 1988 Plenum, the USSR Ministry of Education was closed down, and so were the republic ministries of education. Ministries of public education, which rallied under the same roof preschool, school and vocational secondary and VUZ education, were created throughout the country. We must point out that the new USSR State Committee for Public Education adopted, from the very first day of its establishment, a firm course toward the democratization of schools and management, although here as well people who had earned a reputation through their stance in the struggle for the new were denied an active role.

The creation of the new public education ministries in the republics was also accomplished behind closed doors, and appointments were issued from above without any whatsoever broad participation of the pedagogical public. It so happened that the new machinery was headed precisely by those who, for many years, had managed stagnation in public education in their area and their new cadres consisted of the personnel of the now abolished departments. So far not a single case is known

The new documents issued by the USSR State Committee of Education encourage the election of school principals. They call for the creation of school councils and public education councils on the rayon, city and national levels. As we know, an All-Union Public Education Council will be created in December of this year at the All-Union Congress of Public Education workers. However, the initial experience in the creation of such councils and in involving the public in school management is, alas, by no means always satisfactory. The fear has developed that that which happened in the past with the soviets of people's deputies could happen in the case of the public school councils (which include representatives of teachers, students and parents) and the rayon public education councils. Unless the school and rayon councils immediately acquire the necessary authority and proclaim and exercise their rights, they will merely become a "democratic" shingle behind which, as in the past, the old bureaucratic structures will be hiding.

Today the teachers and, frequently, the entire pedagogical collective are joining the process of new educational ways of thinking. Nonetheless, all too frequently they are still facing a wall of lack of understanding! Apparently many managers believe that the teacher remains an employee subordinate to a higher employee (the principal) who, in turn, is subordinate to another superior authority. Therefore, the democratization of the school must be given firm organizational support.

This support has been found in the creative alliance between teachers and pedagogical activists.

The statement that teaching is a creative profession still largely amounts to pious wishes. It is true that many creative teachers may be found. Nonetheless, the entire system of school life is still structured in such a way as to trim down, to equalize the creative worker to the level of an obedient performer. To the teachers the establishment of a creative association is today a vitally important task. They have been persistently writing about it for the past 2 years in UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA.

Recently an initiative group for the creation of a creative teachers' association began to promote, with the help of our newspaper, the open nomination of teachers throughout the country as candidate members of the organizational committee of the association and, subsequently, direct election of members of the organizational committee. Expressing the opinion of their colleagues, more than 2,000 educators throughout the country named people to whom they assigned to head the creation of this association. On 3 October the organizational committee held its first meeting. It included, in addition to universally known educators, such as N. Dubinin, USSR people's teacher, pedagogue and publicist E. Goryukhina, and A. Tubelskiy, the author of a creative type of school, noted scientists and men of culture, such as D. Likhachev, Ye. Velikhov, A. Adamovich, Ch. Aytmatov, A. Likhanov, R. Bykov, N. Amosov and others.

At its very first meeting the organizational committee of the future association declared that its operational principle will be social and machinery-free, thus emphasizing its antibureaucratic nature and reliance on the free association of creative groups of educators and their clubs and associations. Its purpose will be to support innovative steps and to involve the entire mass of teachers in creative work, self-renovation, self-enhancement and awareness of the civic and professional responsibility of the educator for the fate of the young generation.

Could there be any objections to such a union? It turns out that there could be. "We do not need it!" the high-ranking apparat official holding keeps insisting. One may think that he is not expressing his strictly personal opinion. As they did in the past, such people believe that it is by no means mandatory to ask the opinion of the teachers on this matter. However, time teaches and will continue to teach the amateurs of such unappealable evaluations to adopt a different view on the foundations of school development.

We must realize that our school can make firm progress in its revival only if it has a serious, a scientifically substantiated concept of public education, consistent with the challenge of our time and the new face of socialism. Our society has waited all too long for the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences to formulate such a concept. However, all attempts to draft it within the academy have ended with the drafting of declarative documents which, unfortunately, have been unable to withstand criticism even on the part of the former USSR Ministry of Education.

That is the reason for which the newly created USSR State Committee for Public Education was assigned the task of developing this concept and, following its approval by the public, to undertake its practical implementation. In accordance with the implementation of this task, the State Committee set up the "Basic School" Provisional Scientific Research Collective (VNIK), which was able to attract the participation of the most creative scientific forces among educators and scientists and, in particular, USSR APN scientists who had been unable within the academy to bring to light their potential in the development of new educational ideas.

On a parallel basis with the VNIK, an alternate scientific collective was set up, which gave itself the name of "APN Task Force." Last August UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA published the plans for the two concepts along with an entire packet of other documents drafted by the VNIK: Regulation on the Secondary General Education School, Regulation on the Rayon (City) Public Education Council, Regulation on the Vocational-Technical School and Regulation on the Secondary Specialized School, as suggested by collectives cooperating with the "Base School" of the VNIK.

Currently an active debate on such documents is being conducted on the pages of the newspaper. In mid-November the editors had counted more than 1,000 responses received from teachers, educators in preschool and extra-curricular institutions, instructors in schools and technical colleges, and education scientists. The mail clearly showed a preference for the VNIK concept. The newspaper readers note that they find in it a meaningful development of the mechanisms for the revival and development of the basic unit within the continuous education system and the clear aspiration of the authors toward humanization, the ideas of pedagogical cooperation and development and democratization of the schools.

Yes, the idea of development is a central feature of the ideology of the new school. The three main facets of this idea are the continuing development of the educational system, and converting it into a means for the development of the individual and an efficient factor in social development. The presentation of a lesson in class is no longer one of teaching ready-made truths but a lesson in search of the truth, an impulse to make the student question his knowledge and even that which he is being taught by the teacher. Quest and creativity begin precisely with a doubt; it is precisely a doubt that triggers interest and indicates that an interest has been generated. The ordinary school teaches answers. The development school teaches questions. Naturally, it needs a new content of subjects and, possibly, subjects which would be different from the old ones. Naturally, it also needs new curricula and new textbooks which develop rather than stultify the students.

Democratization is the objective and the way and guarantee of the irreversibility of the reorganization of the school. It is not reduced merely to changing the school management system but must imbue all aspects of school life, its spirit and its internal system. It means surmounting the impersonal and stultifying monotony in the school and promoting the endless variety and disparity among schools and within schools. It means the emancipation of educational relationships and abandoning the system of subordination or opposition, in favor of a system of cooperation between children and adults. It means making the school open and attracting the forces of the public to it and a turn of the school toward the child, respect for his personality and dignity, trust in the child and acceptance of his personality objectives, demands and interests.

The profoundly assessing view of the teacher on the new aspect of the school and his meaningful suggestions and increased interest in the fate of the school in which he is to work are incredibly pleasing to us. Nonetheless, a feeling of concern is growing as well. The flood of responses is virtually bereft of letters written by physicians, workers, engineers, rural workers, and men of science, literature and the arts. Perhaps it takes more than to merely publish the new documents on the new school in UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA alone. Perhaps

lively debates on the future school in other newspapers and on the radio and television are still to come. However, it would be rather detrimental if these documents, which mark a radical reorganization of our school, remain merely subjects of discussion within the public education system.

We believe that now, when the preliminary discussion has highlighted the advantages of the draft concept for general secondary education of the "Basic School" of the VNIK, this draft could be published (albeit somewhat abridged) in several or perhaps even a single one of our central newspapers so that our entire public may become acquainted with it and with the discussions and intensification and development of its most important stipulations. Two alternate concepts give us today sufficient grounds for comparison and for choosing a program for the development of the school, worthy of our time.

Unquestionably, the essentially important problems of school perestroika will be the focal point of attention of the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers. Preparations for the congress are in full swing. They convincingly prove the intensity of the struggle waged between the supporters of perestroika and anything that is obsolete but is still clinging and aggressive.

We know that the delegates who were initially "elected" or, more accurately, appointed 2 years ago by departments, were not representative of teachers' public opinion. However, the list of delegates had already been approved. The teachers persistently called for holding new elections. The 2 years since the previous elections now include experience in the preparations and holding of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Today society has already gained a different idea of the nature of democratic elections and the social responsibility of the delegates. The teachers wrote about this in the paper. The result was a victory: In September 1988 the USSR State Committee for Public Education resolved that elections for all delegates to the All-Union Congress were to take place. This was an achievement of the new way of thinking in school affairs. The new body of delegates to the congress has already been formed. Now, when they feel real responsibility to society and to their electorate, they are preparing to work for the congress.

The congress will sum up the results of the successes and failures of school perestroika and will approve a strategy for school reorganization and earmark prospects for the development of the entire system of continuing education. It will provide the strongest possible creative impetus for the profound reorganization of the science of education and solve many other urgent problems. It must solve problems of the organizational restructuring of the schools, deal with the problem of the status of the teacher, the creative union of teachers, the All-Union Public Education Council, and the enactment of a system of state-public school management throughout the country. Finally, it must solve legal and financial problems in order reliably to ensure the implementation of the renovation program.

We can claim with full justification that not only the delegates but a significant number of educators in the country have already become stirred up. Our editors are receiving thousands upon thousands of letters from which breathes the passion for renovation and progress.

Hundreds of creative autonomous pedagogical associations and teachers' clubs are already active. One of them—the "Evrika" creative club—rallies today more than 400 such local clubs; also operational are newly created temporary scientific collectives such as "Shkola-1," headed by Academician Ye. Velikhov (on problems of computerization of education) and the VNIK, headed by E. Dneprov, under the USSR State Committee for Public Education, which is continuing to work on plans for school changes and promoting the work of creative authorship trends.

The type of cultural and social atmosphere in which regimentation and bookish knowledge will inevitably disappear and in which even so far inert educators and their managers will convert from a "silent majority" into doing live and real work and pedagogical creativity, is developing. And if we were to ensure the expanded reproduction of perestroika, people raised in a new fashion and ready for new developments will come out of the school and engage in active life.

However, it is not excluded that both at the congress and after it efforts will be made to apply all "new" and "fashionable" words while leaving intact the entire old method of school management, that same method which, in all likelihood, would turn all such words into "pedagogical chatter," as A. Makarenko said.

In assessing the prospects of perestroika in the school and seeing all the ups and downs of the overt and covert struggle, and realistically assessing the forces of the different social and professional groups, we must be able to assemble the full picture. It is clear: There will be no perestroika in the country without perestroika in the school.

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Economic Growth: Alternative Assessment

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[Text] Society lives a many-faceted life. Equally varied are the economic indicators which reflect it. There are no "bad" or "good" among them. Each one characterizes the development of the economy in a strictly defined aspect and does not provide exhaustive information about it. This

makes inadmissible the absolutizing of any given system of indicators and methods used to assess them. As it formulates its development strategy, society must be guided not by a one-sided but by the fullest-possible information on the state of affairs in the economy within its entire conflicting unity.

The article by V. Bogachev (*KOMMUNIST* No 6, 1988) dealt with debatable problems of the methodology used in computing macroeconomic indicators. In continuing the discussion initiated with this article, the editors are now presenting the article by G. Khanin, which provides a study of the development of the national economy in natural-physical terms.

Determining the optimal pace and general economic proportions in the development of the national economy is one of the basic tasks in formulating the 13th 5-Year Plan. Today we can undertake its solution armed with the richest possible historical experience of socialist economic management, taking also into consideration past errors which were made in this area.

Above all, we must avoid any exaggeration of the significance of the high growth rates of gross volumes of output and their artificial increase through administrative pressure. In themselves, the growth rates of gross value indicators could tell us little about socioeconomic development. Pursuit of speed, which conflicts with objective reproduction laws, leads to the mass distortion of economic information and disorients national economic planning. Consequently, in practical terms, the requirement of drafting realistic national economic plans (despite the universal acknowledgment and obviousness of such actions) was observed quite rarely.

Having been issued unrealistic plans for the volume of output, the enterprises reacted by raising wholesale and retail prices, manipulating the structure of output, worsening its quality and even resorting to figure padding. Under those circumstances, the concealed growth of prices, which was facilitated by their clear increase, and a chronic commodity-monetary imbalance, assumed significant dimensions. Thus, according to official data, which took into consideration exclusively the overt increase, between 1929 and 1950 retail prices increased by a factor of 12. Retail prices were followed by an increase in wages and in cost per unit of output and wholesale prices based on production cost. According to our estimates, between 1956 and 1985 alone wholesale prices in the national economy increased by a factor of more than 2.5, which included a concealed doubling of such prices.

Nonetheless, the statistical authorities, which had stopped computing wholesale price indices by the end of the 1920s, essentially ignored the tremendous disparity between value indicators and the dynamics of physical economic development indicators.¹ This convenient method for concealing the nonfulfillment of planned assignments did not meet with the active objection of the

Gosplan or the majority of ministries. Under the conditions of an overall price increase, the new types of commodities and capital construction projects were estimated for the period covered by the plan at prices which were significantly higher than similar items and projects on the same consumer quality level in the base period and on the basis of which production dynamics were computed. It is thus that the inflationary component of growth rates, based on covert and overt price increases, increased. It was also reproduced in the long-term plans based on the achieved level.

The inflationary component must be eliminated from our statistical data if we are to formulate realistic plans. This author has dealt with this problem for a number of years and formulated a number of methods for calculating the real dynamics of economic processes based on physical indicators and, therefore, free from the influence of the inflationary factor. Thus, in order to determine the growth rates of industrial output, six methods were used; three methods were used in determining output in construction and automotive transportation; two for basic production capital, etc. The results of all of these methods were quite similar.²

The following fact indicates the scale of influence of the inflationary component on indicators of the dynamics of economic development: according to the USSR State Statistical Committee, between 1929 and 1985 the national income increased by a factor of 84; according to our computations, it increased by a factor of no more than 6.6.

In addition to these, other methods were used, borrowed from the statistical practices of many countries throughout the world, specifically the index of the physical

volume of output computed on the basis of a set of key commodities in the individual industrial sectors. Naturally, this system as well is not ideal for, clearly, no ideal system exists.

The indicator of physical volume of output has been criticized both in our country and abroad. The same type of criticism is found in the article by V. Bogachev (see *KOMMUNIST* No 6, 1988). The faults in the index of the physical volume of output noted in it (difficulty in choosing representative products, lack of total convertibility in terms of time and correlation among different indices) indeed exist. Actually, for many of them we used several methods for determining production dynamics. However, their influence should not be exaggerated. Although there is no coincidence between the indicators computed in terms of prices for different years, the disparity in this case is very small. It is precisely because the shortcomings of the measurements of the dynamics of output applied in the overwhelming majority of countries throughout the world are insignificant that they have been retained in statistical practices for a number of decades. The fact that the role of such indicators should not be exaggerated or that their maximizing should be considered even less a basic objective of economic development is a different matter. However, we believe that to abandon them would be a mistake. The sociological monitoring suggested by V. Bogachev has, in our view, other major shortcomings due to its subjective nature, compared to the yardsticks of economic dynamics he criticizes.

The choice of the year 1928 as the base for the analysis is determined by the fact that it is a turning point in the country's history (a sharp turn in economic policy was initiated in 1929). A number of statistical publications have used as a base the year 1928 also as marking the beginning of the 5-year plans (see table).

Dynamics of Basic Indicators For the Development of the National Economy 1929-1987: Based on Alternate Evaluations (1928 = 1)

	Years									
	1929- 1941	1942- 1950	1951- 1960	1961- 1965	1966- 1970	1971- 1975	1976- 1980	1981- 1985	1986- 1987	1929- 1987
National Income Index	1.5/5.46	1.15/1.52	2.0/2.65	1.24/1.37	1.22/1.45	1.17/1.32	1.05/1.23	1.03/1.19	1.04/1.06	6.9/89.5
Average Annual Growth Rates of the National Income, Percent	3.2/13.9	1.6/4.8	7.2/10.2	4.4/6.5	4.1/7.7	3.2/5.7	1.0/4.2	0.6/3.5	2.0/3.0	3.3/7.9
Index of Basic Production Capital (evaluated by the author including exports, computed by USSR State Statistical Committee data excluding exports)	1.95/2.97	1.24/1.09	1.70/2.46	1.33/1.59	1.28/1.48	1.21/1.52	1.10/1.43	1.03/1.37	1.00/1.10	9.6/61.4

Dynamics of Basic Indicators For the Development of the National Economy 1929-1987: Based on Alternate Evaluations
(1928 = 1)

	Years									
	1929- 1941	1942- 1950	1951- 1960	1961- 1965	1966- 1970	1971- 1975	1976- 1980	1981- 1985	1986- 1987	1929- 1987
Average Annual Growth Rates of Basic Productive Capital, Percent	5.3/8.7	2.4/1.0	5.4/9.4	5.9/9.7	5.1/8.2	3.9/8.7	1.9/7.4	0.6/6.5	0.0/4.9	3.9/7.2
Capital Return Index	0.77/1.84	0.93/1.32	1.17/1.08	0.93/0.86	0.95/0.98	0.97/0.87	0.95/0.87	1.00/0.86	1.04/0.96	0.71/1.38
Average Annual Rates of Capital Return Changes, Percent	-2.0/4.8	-0.8/3.1	1.6/0.8	-1.4/-3.0	-1.0/-0.4	-0.6/-2.7	-1.0/-2.7	0.0/-3.0	2.0/-2.0	-0.6/0.5
Indicator of Social Labor Productivity	1.19/4.33	1.12/1.47	1.63/2.15	1.22/1.34	1.16/1.39	1.10/1.25	1.01/1.18	1.00/1.16	1.04/1.06	3.55/46.23
Average Annual Rate of Changes in Labor Productivity, Percent	1.3/11.9	1.3/4.4	5.0/8.0	3.4/6.0	3.0/6.8	1.9/4.6	0.2/3.4	0.0/3.0	2.0/3.0	2.2/6.7
Indicator of Material Intensiveness of Public Output	1.25— 1.3/0.96	1.1/0.98	0.95/0.95	1.02/0.99	1.02/0.98	1.05/1.03	1.05/1.00	1.05/1.00	0.99/1.008	1.56— 1.62/0.90
Average Annual Rates of Change in Material Intensiveness, Percent	1.7— 2.0/-0.3	1.1/-0.2	-0.5/-0.5	0.4/-0.2	0.4/-0.4	1.0/0.6	1.0/0.0	1.0/0.0	-0.5/0.4	0.8— 0.82/- 0.2
Index of Production Capital Investments	—	—	—	1.29/1.43	1.19/1.45	1.05/1.47	1.04/1.19	0.95/1.17	—	1.59/4.24
Average Annual Rates of Changes in the Volume of Industrial Capital Investments	—	—	—	5.2/7.4	3.5/7.7	1.0/8.0	0.8/3.5	-1.0/3.2	—	1.9/5.9

Remarks:

1. The numerator indicates the result of the author's computations; the denominator indicates traditional evaluations computed on the basis of USSR State Statistical Committee Data.
2. Data for 1941 computed nominally, based on the results of the first half of 1941.
3. 1986-1987 data are preliminary.
4. Average base of industrial capital investments computed for 25 years.

This table fully confirms the significant progress achieved by the Soviet economy during the period under consideration. Between 1929 and 1987 the Soviet national income increased by a factor of 6.9.³ For the sake of comparison, let us point out that within the same period of time it increased by a factor of 6.1 in the United States, 3.8 in Great Britain, and 4.6 in France. The higher increase in the national income of the USSR was ensured despite the fact that the war and the restoration of the prewar economic standard in our country took nearly 10 years, whereas in the United States it was precisely then that a particularly fast economic expansion took place, while the level of destruction of the economic potential in France and

Great Britain was lesser than the losses suffered by the Soviet economic potential in both absolute and relative figures.

The economic development of the USSR was also worsened by deformation in socialism and major errors in economic policy. However, the progress achieved by socialist society, despite objective and subjective difficulties, proves its ability successfully to solve even the biggest socioeconomic problems.

Between 1929 and 1987 basic production capital increased by a factor of 9.6 in real figures; the consumption of material resources increased by a factor of 13-14.

Nonetheless, a comparison among the dynamics of the national income, basic production assets and consumption of raw and other materials indicates that our country's economic development was extensive and the increase in resources considerably outstripped the increased output in the national economy. No more than slightly over one-half of the growth of the national income was achieved as a result of upgrading social labor productivity. The decline in the efficiency of utilization of resources during the period under consideration convincingly proves that the rigidly centralized economic management system which was established in our country by the end of the 1920s, although successfully solving problems of increasing the volume of resources involved in the production process, proved incapable of ensuring the stable enhancement of its efficiency. Meanwhile, with the exhaustion of the extensive sources of economic growth, it was precisely this task that assumed a priority status in our economy.

The foundations of economic progress in the USSR were laid between the 1930s and the 1950s. Within that historically short time segment the basic production assets in the national economy more than quadrupled. A powerful investment base was organized which, by the end of said period, was able to meet almost entirely the needs of the Soviet national economy and, partially, the needs of other socialist and developing countries. Millions of skilled workers and engineering and technical personnel needed for these sectors were trained; a powerful scientific potential and a modern defense industry were created. The obviousness of these successes triggered not only a legitimate pride but also an uncritical approach concerning the conditions under which they were achieved and the possibility of further maintaining a high pace of economic development. A major contributory factor to this effect were the traditional assessments of the dynamics of economic indicators, which showed a significant improvement in the utilization of basic production assets and materials within that time.

The fast economic growth of 1929-1960 (the national income increased by a factor of 3.5) took place on an extensive basis, with a worsening in the utilization of basic production assets and material resources. A certain increase in production capital intensiveness is inevitable in the initial phases of industrialization. In our country, however, it was more substantial than elsewhere. The headlong increase in material production intensiveness is difficult to ascribe to objective reasons. Indicators of public production efficiency worsened particularly rapidly between 1929 and 1950. Although they improved in the 1950s, such improvement could only partially compensate for the lowered efficiency in the preceding period.

The study of the factors affecting our country's economic development between 1929 and 1960 is not of purely historical interest only. Today our economists frequently write about the origins of our present economic difficulties which they trace to the end of the 1970s and

beginning of the 1980s; others include the entire period of the 1970s and others again seek them in the period of the end of the 1950s. We believe that the roots of the negative phenomena are much deeper. If we consider that our economic difficulties began as late as the end of the 1950s, we can easily reach the conclusion of the expediency of returning to the economic management methods (and, in general, of social management) of the period between the 1930s and beginning of 1950s, when according to such approaches economic development was allegedly successful. However all we have to do is to look at the actual figures to realize the low efficiency with which such resources were used at that time, even compared with 1928.

I believe that the origins of our present economic difficulties should be sought in the socioeconomic mechanism which began to develop by the end of the 1920s. At that time, as the most accessible reserves for upgrading public production efficiency began to be exhausted, solving the problem of the further growth of output and finding resources for industrialization became substantially more difficult. At this point new daring approaches were needed in order to enhance the creative potential of the Soviet people and perfect the economic mechanism, along with a democratization of public life and a more decisive struggle against the bureaucrats. It was precisely this method that was suggested by some of the party's leadership. It was most fully expressed in N. Bukharin's article "Notes of An Economist," which came out in PRAVDA on 30 September 1928. In this article, on the basis of a profound study of the initial steps taken in the reconstruction period, he described the nature and reasons for the already then detected disproportions and failures ("our 'crises,'" as the author describes them, referring to the commodity hunger, the lagging in grain production, etc.). In his view, the way to surmount them was "the adoption of most decisive measures which would ensure the full efficiency of construction, great productivity by all of our production units and a much greater productivity of the newly commissioned enterprises," increasing the use of scientific achievements and "scientifically organizing our statistical accounting." Does this not sound as though being written not in 1928 but in 1988?

The overall political conclusion drawn by Bukharin from the study of the ways of eliminating the difficulties of the reconstruction period was the following: "We must learn how knowledgeably to manage under the difficult conditions of the reconstruction period.... We must use in a maximally flexible way the economic factors which work for socialism. This presumes a most complex combination of individual, group, mass, social and governmental initiative. We have excessively overcentralized everything.... Should we not take a few steps toward Lenin's state-commune?" Unfortunately, by the turn of the 1930s it was the line of "power" solution of difficult

socioeconomic problems in the country that predominated. Industrialization funds were extracted by lowering the population's living standard and siphoning funds off of agriculture. No serious effort was made to upgrade production efficiency.

The socioeconomic mechanism which developed in the 1930s and 1940s restrained the initiative and creative activeness of the working people. The huge funds appropriated for the development of science, technology and education, while underestimating the human factor, and considering the low interest shown by producers in accelerating scientific and technical progress, were used poorly. Scientific and technical progress was largely based on a borrowed foundation (imported equipment, and technical documentation and duplication of technological prototypes obtained on the basis of lend-lease and as reparations). The rigidly centralized economic mechanism was unable to end the wasteful utilization of material resources in the 1930s-1950s; nor was this accomplished subsequently, which accelerated by many decades the difficulties in procuring raw materials for the national economy. Economic management was disorganized by unrealistic planning and inaccurate economic information. It was precisely then that the vicious circle—unrealistic planning, distorted statistical information and unrealistic plans—developed, a vicious circle which we have not been able to break to this day.

The living standard of the population was substantially improved in the 1950s, when a certain increase in production efficiency took place. The national economy developed particularly well in the mid-1950s, assisted by the overall normalizing of sociopolitical life in the country. However, the basic shortcomings of the socioeconomic mechanism, which had developed in the 1930s and 1940s, were not surmounted. They became apparent as early as the end of the 1950s, when noticeable difficulties began to appear in ensuring the availability of manpower and increasing the production of raw and other materials. The efforts made by the turn of the 1960s to upgrade production efficiency within the framework of the old economic mechanism failed to yield tangible results.

As the table shows, a steady decline in the rates of economic growth was taking place since the end of the 1950s. It was determined by two factors: a slow-down in the growth of production resources and their worsened utilization. It seems, above all, that the slowed-down real growth of basic production assets played a decisive role in the reduced pace of economic growth. Indeed, these rates of growth declined exceptionally highly, from 33 percent in the 7th 5-year period to an entirely insignificant amount (3 percent) in the 11th. By the end of the 11th 5-year period, the growth of basic production capital (taking its wear into consideration) stopped entirely. A number of economists view the unquestionable fact of a drastic slow-down in the growth of basic production capital as the prime reason for the slower economic development. Hence the conclusion of the

need for significantly upgrading the share of the fund for production accumulation within the national income. It is important, therefore, to determine why was there such a severe drop in the dynamics of basic production assets and the way this influenced the growth of output. The investment sector (investment machine-building, construction and related sectors) should be able to replace written-off production assets and ensure their increase. The development of this sector was hindered above all by its low efficiency. According to our estimates, between 1960 and 1985 the growth rates of basic production assets in machine-building were significantly higher than those of overall material output. Therefore, there could not even be a question of any neglect of machine-building from the viewpoint of resources allocated during that period.

Capital returns systematically declined (except for the 7th 5-year period) as a result of the reduced inflow of new labor resources and the poor interest shown by the machine-building enterprises in making a better use of fixed production capital. The growth rates of labor productivity declined steadily, from 13 percent in the 7th 5-year period to 0 in the 11th. Material intensiveness in machine-building steadily increased. Consequently, machine-building is suffering not from a scarcity of resources but from their poor utilization. The traditions of extensive development, which developed between 1928 and 1960, dragged machine-building backward. The only solution here is the better utilization of resources. Production efficiency in another investment sector—construction—was even worse. It too was not deprived of resources. Its basic production assets increased considerably faster than material production as a whole. In this area, despite the headlong increase in the capital-labor ratio (it nearly doubled) labor productivity remained virtually unchanged between 1960 and 1985. Capital returns declined steadily and much faster than in the entire national economy, and material intensiveness of output increased.

The inevitable question is the following: Do we need today a significant expansion in basic production assets for the national economy as a whole? The fact that between 1929 and 1987 capital returns in the national economy dropped by nearly one-third indicates the existence of great possibilities of improving the utilization of fixed capital.

According to computations made by I.A. Malyugin, in 1985 in industry alone there were 8.9 million (26.5 percent) surplus jobs. Their elimination could release 100 million square meters of production area and save 30 billion rubles in capital investments. The share of surplus jobs in the main shops of machine-building enterprises was, that year, 45 percent. Under such circumstances, to pursue a course of accelerated growth of basic production assets means the multiplication of an ever higher number of unnecessary jobs with the inevitable worsening of their utilization.

The sufficiency and even surplus of basic production assets throughout the national economy does not, naturally, mean that, in general, the problem of their scarcity does not exist. Some sectors are indeed hurting from lack of production capital. They could become (and have already become) bottlenecks in the national economy. This applies, above all, to railroad transportation, ferrous metallurgy, electric power, some sectors in the chemical and light industries, and the construction materials industry. However, we should bear in mind that the scarcity in their output is largely related to their unsatisfactory use in the national economy.

There is unquestionable need to increase basic production assets in the latest economic sectors related to the production of computers, robotics, development of biotechnology, etc. Actually, here as well a certain restraint should be applied. Unfortunately, the tremendous expansion in the production of some of the latest types of equipment frequently leads to the opposite results because of operational shortcomings and consumers' lack of knowledge in their utilization. The new equipment becomes an "expensive toy" and production efficiency from its application may even decline. Obviously, major capital investments are needed to eliminate intra-sectorial and intraplant disproportions, and measures must be taken to ensure resource conservation.

The needs of the national economy for labor and material-conserving equipment and the development of new progressive sectors are so great that the question of the expediency of substantially upgrading the volume of production capital investments has appeared. According to concepts, traditional in our economic science, concerning the immediate and fast results of the commissioning of fixed assets, manifested through the increase in the volume of the national income, this conclusion seems obvious. However, we must take into consideration the level of utilization of production capacities in the national economy, the availability of manpower and its skills, etc. It is one thing when there is a surplus of manpower and a scarcity of jobs, and something entirely different, as is currently being noticed, when the number of jobs far exceeds the number of workers. In many sectors in the national economy, in which the level of utilization of production capacities is extremely low or else the volumes of output are substantially higher than the needs of the national economy, we could daringly undertake a reduction in the volume of basic production assets. The resources which could be released in this case would be quite adequate for the accelerated development of currently underdeveloped economic sectors and in the area of resource conservation. Once the level of utilization of production capacities has increased substantially (by a factor of 1.5-2) the situation could change and we would indeed have to accelerate the overall increase of basic production assets. However, we are still far from this point.

In frequent cases the economic results which we have been able to attain in the course of perestroika are being distorted as a result of comparing them with the obviously

unrealistic indicators of the economic growth of the period of stagnation. The analysis, however, indicates that underestimating them would be a mistake. We were able to stop the process of decline in the rates of economic growth and reduce deficiency in public production, which lasted for a quarter of a century and which ended with an absolute decline in the national income in real figures in 1981-1982, but showed a 3 percent increase in 1986. In the first 2 years of the 12th 5-year period the growth rates of the national income, in real terms, averaged 2 percent. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that this was achieved essentially as a result of increased production efficiency. The growth rates of labor productivity have been accelerated. For the first time since the 1950s capital returns have increased substantially and material intensiveness of output has declined somewhat. The social results of economic development have improved. The production of consumer goods took place at the fastest possible pace, and there was a jump in housing construction. These successes were achieved under difficult circumstances. Substantial economic difficulties were triggered by a major drop in world petroleum prices and other raw material goods, the Chernobyl breakdown and the harsh winter of 1986-1987.

However, it would be dangerous to overestimate the size and significance of shifts in the economy. The steps taken in recent years to stimulate the economy were essentially of a short-term nature and have already exhausted their possibilities. At the start of the 12th 5-year period they were increased as a result of the increased number of workers working Saturdays and doing overtime. Our statistical authorities do not take such phenomena into consideration. However, they are being reported by the press on a virtually daily basis. Taking into consideration the actual increase in the amount of working time, achievements in the growth of labor productivity and the improved utilization of fixed assets turn out to be even more modest. So far there has been no real change in intensification.

Increasingly we feel an "overloading" of the economy, which is particularly tangible in sectors such as the electric power industry, ferrous metallurgy and railroad transportation. Their lack of reserve production capacities forces them to continue to operate obsolete assets and engage making slow and substandard repairs, which is fraught with the danger of major breakdowns. The production personnel in many other sectors are also being overloaded. The labor intensification of the managerial apparatus cannot substitute for a systematically implemented economic reform policy. Unfortunately, changes in this respect, as was frankly noted at the 19th Party Conference, are slow. With a sluggish half-way implementation of the reform, the long-range trends of reduced production efficiency and increased production resources and an absolute decline in the volume of output may reappear.

Footnotes

1. The partial restoration of wholesale price statistics at the end of the 1950s pertained exclusively to their dynamics in terms of the stable selection of goods. Price levels of new goods and services were not statistically assessed, i.e., the hidden increase in prices continued to be ignored.

2. A detailed description of these methods may be found in this author's articles published in the journal *IZVESTIYA AN SSSR. SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA*, No 6, 1981; No 3, 1984.

3. Here and elsewhere the values of the macroeconomic indicators are computed by the author and cleansed from the inflationary component.

4. For the range of sectors under comparison (data for the capitalist countries include services, the share of which has increased substantially in the national income of those countries), the progress of the USSR would prove to be even greater.

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Letters To The Editors

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[Letters to the editors: "The Reader Considers, Argues, Proposes"]

[Text] V. Krasnov, engineer, CPSU member, Moscow: *Questions To Be Asked*

One of the main reasons for our misfortunes is the lack of morality and the habit which is, in our way of life, of lying and unscrupulousness. I have heard that members of the militia stopped for a check the bus of an enterprise producing alcoholic beverages, entered it, and the passengers immediately put the containers with the stolen liquor on the divider between seats and started laughing: Who could establish the ownership of such bottles or even cans!...

People, what are you laughing at? The seemingly innocent description of such people as "pilferers" does not fit. You are nothing but ordinary thieves. Where is your conscience, where is your shame?

"There is now dishonor among us," sadly notes writer V. Kaverin. We can only agree with this. Given the large number of swindlers, their lives become simpler. However, when the crowd would catch one, his situation deteriorates: he may even get a beating, particularly if he has picked something out of someone else's pocket. In such cases, people looked at one another and everything

became easier and simpler. They looked at the militiamen, recalled cases in which the enforcers of the law themselves had acted in an unseemly manner, and did not worry at all.

Comrades, this method could be used to justify anything! Until recently that is precisely what was happening. We shook the hands of scoundrels and swindlers, accepted a gift for a service rendered in the line of duty, wrote scandalous articles, drank on the job.... What does all of this turn into? The scoundrel becomes increasingly daring and impudent. Along with morals, material values disappear, more gifts have to be offered, investigating slander is costing the state millions of rubles and drinking leads to all possible accidents and even catastrophes. It is as though we fail to notice this by lying to ourselves and others. How have we sunk that low?

It has already been noticed that we began by lying to ourselves at a time when it was hard to show "malicious capitalism" our difficulties. We calmed ourselves by saying that we shall gather strength and enhance the economy, and everything will change.... We consoled ourselves by saying that "the aim justifies the means." Our aims were sacred and our ideals were humane. However, at that point we forgot Marx's words that "...An aim which requires the use of improper means is not the right aim."

We lied to ourselves in assessing the level of social development. The distortion of information in virtually all areas led to an imbalance in the country's economic mechanism. Quick-witted people quickly realized that without glasnost and democratic control matters were much simpler, pushing aside vestiges of their conscience and reporting high cotton crops rather than raising them; it was easier, by manipulating figures, to claim that the living standard had improved than actually to achieve such improvement. Demagogy and empty phraseology began to gain the upper hand and acquire real power over practicality and responsibility.

There is a real opportunity today to block this process, and to resurrect our bright goals, honesty and dignity. In reading the great Russian writers we note that Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy and Gogol linked their hopes for social progress to improvements in the human soul. The establishment of socialism is related to the highest moral criteria.

Honor means, above all, respect for oneself. No respect for oneself can exist without respect for one's predecessors and one's roots about which in some cases we are totally ignorant. Respect for oneself cannot exist without respect for others. In our country, however, let us admit it, this is a rather touchy problem. We have stopped respecting one another. To this day, reading some newspapers or journals, authors and editors seem to be engaged in mortal combat in determining who said what when and why, and unseemly awarding praises and laurels. If moral restrictions are totally ignored what

kind of respect could there be.... What about our standards of intercourse, with which the civilized person should start! Look at any discussion: some speak and explain something heatedly while the others are not listening, only waiting impatiently for this "hammering rubbish" to end and, finally, to be able to present their thoughts, which are the only right ones.

Honor and conscience are our supreme judges. "Let this be on your conscience," we used to say, certain that his conscience would disturb the person to the end of his days. But let us look into our own souls. If we were to be told in some situation, "let it be a matter for your conscience," would this punishment not be purely symbolic?

But how are honor and conscience taught and developed? Does everything come from reading books and newspapers or listening to clever people? No. It was not in vain that Dostoyevskiy argued that "truth is higher than Nekrasov, higher than Pushkin, higher than the people, higher than Russia, higher than anything that exists, for which reason one should wish for truth alone and seek it despite all the benefits which we could lose because of this and even despite any persecution and harassment which we may suffer because of it." It is important to develop one's moral guidelines from an early age.

The fate of the revolutionary changes which have been initiated in the country will be decided by our children and grandchildren. Obviously, they must be honest, daring, and conscientious. Naturally, these virtues are shaped under conditions of strict respect for the individual on the part of society. Let us consider the nurseries, the kindergartens and the schools where the most important qualities of the personality are formed. One of the main faults in our education is its mass approach. We do not notice, we do not acknowledge individuality and, consequently, it is as though we preclude respect for the individual. Yet respect is a strictly individual category....

Children are exceptionally impressionable. Feeling their rightlessness in children's institutions and listening to stories by their parents on their "battles" for truth, early in life they draw pessimistic conclusions and frequently adopt a passive life stance. And then we wonder: How did this lazy, initiative-lacking person, indifferent to everything, develop?

"You built your peaceful little world and blocked tight all access to light, like a termite. You surrounded yourself with dust, you hid in your philistine well-being and in your sluggish habits and closed provincial way of life; you have raised this narrow bulwark to hide from the wind, the sea and the stars. You do not wish to burden yourself with great tasks. As it is, you have worked hard to forget that you are a man. No, you are not an inhabitant of the planet which is falling in space. You do not ask questions to which there is no answer..."

Let us think: What kind of a poor life could there be for such a being to whom such searing words by Saint-Exupery are addressed? How bad it is to live with such people around us. Our society needs persons who are precisely "burdening themselves with great tasks," who "ask questions to which there are no answers." Great accomplishments are possible only to a great person, not only from the viewpoint of the achievements of the age of the scientific and technical revolution but, above all, the viewpoint of moral perfection.

The more one thinks about our past and present, the more convinced one becomes that we can no longer live this way. Our society, every citizen must gather all his strength to reject the lies which have been wrapped around us like the snakes of the powerful Laocoon. A state of law cannot be built if we tolerate untruth.

V. Solovyev, engineer, CPSU member, Leningrad:
Important Topic

Of late your journal has published a number of important and interesting materials on economic problems. One of them, and even an entire topic is, in my view, to this day entirely ignored: the question of taxes in our country. Yet, in connection with the laws on the state enterprise, the cooperative and individual labor activity, this problem has become particularly relevant.

Some puzzling remarks on the substantiation and efficiency of taxes are finding their way in the press. Yet the type and amount of taxes is perhaps less economic than one of social policy. The name given to a tax is not important, whether withholdings for the Union, republic or local budget. What matters is who sets taxes and how, what are the theory and practice in this case? There is a question now of progressive taxation from private income and the need to declare one's income as is the practice in other countries.

I believe that the journal should not ignore this topic. We need not a single article but an entire series of articles. We must describe taxes in prerevolutionary Russia and foreign taxation systems, as practiced in the United States, Britain, the FRG and other developed countries: What kind of taxes are they, who sets them, and how they are used. Postponing a discussion on this matter is improper.

I. Klimovetskiy, teacher, Skelki Village, Zaporozhe Oblast: How Is the Weather Outside?

A pamphlet has appeared in the bookstores by Candidate of Historical Sciences Ya.I. Potryayko "N.I. Bukharin: *Shtrikhi k Politicheskomu Portretu*" [N.I. Bukharin: Features of His Political Portrait] (Kiev, 1988). I cannot speak for others, but in me it triggered a sharp feeling of perplexity.

For half a century we did not know the truth about this outstanding bolshevik. How we, little children, hated Bukharin for he did not tell the Chekist the route which Vladimir Ilich had followed on his way to a meeting, and thus obstructed the efforts to prevent the attempt made on Lenin's life by Kaplan! (The motion picture "Lenin in 1918"). It was only later, after reading the memoirs of N.K. Krupskaya that we realized that something entirely different had happened.

I recalled this in reading Potryayko's pamphlet. The first page begins with reprimands addressed to those who "in pursuit of sensationalism are handling with a great deal of disrespect party documents in describing important historical events and phenomena and outstanding political personalities." In other words, he is close to the revisionists abroad who are mentioned somewhat later. In 17 pages (the pamphlet numbers a total of 32, not full at that) Bukharin's errors are listed: "menshevik-Trotskyite theory," "V.I. Lenin exposing (my emphasis) Bukharin's deviations...." And so on. Terminology is replaced by labels.

It is only as he describes the years which followed Lenin's death that the author allows himself somewhat to approve of Bukharin's actions, after which everything follows the usual routine: the congress of collectivization, defense of the kulaks, and so on.

The purpose of this letter is not to provide a detailed critical analysis of the pamphlet, for I lack the necessary sources to do this. I believe that this can be accomplished by more knowledgeable people. However, I cannot fail to mention something else as well: the pamphlet virtually ignores Stalin, who played such a terrible role in Bukharin's life: he quotes Stalin's retort in support of Bukharin and mentions Stalin as a fighter against Trotskyism (although it should be more accurate to describe him as fighting Trotsky himself); in the end, he briefly mentions the "Stalinist repressions." I would not have been amazed had I seen in the pamphlet the words "Trotskyite-Bukharinist traitors," for the spirit of this pamphlet is quite remindful of the "expository materials" of the 1930s.

The author denies Bukharin even the right to be described as a creative personality. I read the following: "In fierce clashes with creative Marxists and, above all, with V.I. Lenin" (p 5).

If we compare that which we now have begun to learn about Bukharin, based on the party press, with the content of the pamphlet by Potryayko, we cannot fail to ask the comrades from the Ukrainian Znaniye Society, who published the pamphlet: What year do you think this is: 1938 or 1988?

From the Editors: The pamphlet by Ya.I. Potryayko has been assessed as an "attempt to a return to the barely concealed restoration of old times", in their letter to KOMMUNIST by social scientists from Kiev S. Grabovskiy, E. Gurin and K. Maleyev.

Excerpts From Letters

V. Kruglov, electric car driver, Omsk Television Plant:

I believe that the shaping of a civilian society would be more successful if the tradition of representative democracy would be expanded more energetically with the right of everyone to directly participate in management or at least to see the process of decision-making in person. Once democracy has been converted from a periodical holiday to a daily concern, the reason for many hurts, misunderstandings and excesses will disappear. Such an approach to the activities of all social, including informal, organizations would constitute a firm foundation for integration processes. Increasing conditions for participation in management will not mandatorily lead to talking-shops but would help to identify those on whom one could rely in the work and promote the need for democratic standards of life in everyone.

N. Nikitla, Moscow:

Will you explain to us, oldsters, what is happening? Everything was said to be good, very good, excellent. We thought that we were virtually within sight of the shores of communism. Yet it turned out that, for the time being, this was a mirage. I would like to know the view of the specialists on this matter.

Ye. Yegorov, docent, Department of CPSU History, Vladimir Polytechnical Institute:

Thanks to Lenin's efforts our party was armed with the most advanced revolutionary theory which no other labor party in the world had. Subsequently, however, the concept of theoretical struggle was replaced by that of ideological struggle, which is not one and the same. Focusing the main attention on ideological polemics, we shifted from formulating the strategy of progressing along the main direction to a flank defense. The development of theory came to a virtual stop and there was stagnation in the social sciences. It seems to me that, in engaging in ideological polemics and identifying theory with ideology, we lose in this an excessively high share of the intellectual potential of the social scientists and do not attain the level of a discussion of the major problems of our development.

A. Simakov, candidate of philosophical sciences, Moscow:

How great were the efforts invested in instilling in the public awareness the idea of socialist competition as an objective economic competition in which the interests of the various participants in socialist production are met. How many were the duplications of the "moral-ethical" concept of the competition, which identified it with labor activeness and classified it in the area of super-structural relations. Today we are hearing complaints about the "dampening of moral incentives," and so on.

Let me remind you that in the 1920s, under the circumstances of a "raging" of commodity-monetary relations and socialist rivalry the real competition not only did not dampen but developed successfully. Based on an organized system of wages and the participation of the workers in the distribution of profits naturally developed a new attitude toward labor and competitiveness among workers. Competition has always taken place in our society but in the old economic mechanism it was harmful, for it was manifested not in fully applying capabilities and receiving what was earned but in the averaging of needs, so that no one would receive more.

N. Radnitskiy, Tselinograd:

It would be worth to publish a detailed and full report of the All-Union Voluntary Society For the Struggle for Sobriety concerning the funds it had expended, indicating their purpose and the results obtained. We cannot judge of its work for the past 3 years without such information. It seems to me, for example, that today this society and its local authorities are virtually useless. They are either unable or unwilling to do anything other than collect the rubles. Let the representatives of the public, anyone who is interested in the truly efficient work of this society, assess its activities.

Responses To Our Publications

V. Feodosyev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, Hero of Socialist Labor:

I am writing you as an unprejudiced interested reader. In issue No 12 of your journal my attention was drawn to a letter written by a group of kolkhoz chairmen from the Crimea. I already knew this, but with this letter I became totally convinced that water is a benefit and an even greater one if it is given for free.... Obviously, the authors tell the obvious but avoid to engage in any financial reasoning. Had they expressed their readiness to become shareholders, to contract for an additional state loan and sign a contract with the Minvodkhoz as customers and, after the stipulated number of years repay the loan from their profits.... At that point one could have considered their views seriously as practical businessmen.... As it is....

I am confident that opponents of reclamation as such do not exist. What we find are simply sensible people who are opponents of the drone of the "zero cycle," which your journal has already perfectly described. That is the essence of the case!

It is indeed time to end the discussions. It is high time for the Minvodkhoz to come down to earth and be organized on a cost accounting basis. At that point the matter will enter the sensible area of economics.

G. Matasev, Moscow:

I read A. Solovyev's interview on pensions (No 13, 1988). I by no means agree with him in everything. I soberly realize that I may not know a few things or even be wrong. However, I cannot believe that by recruiting pensioners to work the state is making "certain sacrifices." This may be the result of the habit of keeping within the apparatus unnecessary personnel, a great deal of whom I have seen in the various ministries.

I would like to read on such matters in your journal the views of other scientists as well—sociologists and economists. This is an important topic which should be brought to its logical conclusion.

V. Dubrovskiy, candidate of technical sciences, senior scientific associate TsNII imeni Krylov, Leningrad:

It is good that we are beginning to discuss the rational limits of secrecy (No 13, 1988). However, in as much as I can determine, for the time being the actual processes are going in the opposite direction. Over the past 2 to 3 years demand for open publications has increased substantially. For example, today suggested materials must have been essentially already published. However, the essence of scientific and technical information lies precisely in new information and any repetition is "information noise," which is not only useless but even harmful.

Therefore, we must guarantee the impossibility of making "double use" of published data. This is hardly possible, for most projects are created with a view to mobilization readiness as well. Given the obvious vagueness of such demands, members of expert commissions are unwilling to burden themselves with unnecessary trouble. As a result, many scientific and technical journals spend decades avoiding to publish truly new materials and no grounds for scientific debates exist.

A. Stepanov, Gay, Orenburg Oblast:

I do not quite understand at whom is the article on secrecy addressed. Who should "take steps" to correct an obviously abnormal situation? We frequently hear "not possible," or "not allowed" on the part of those who have absolutely nothing to do with the country's defense. There are various special departments everywhere but one can only guess as to who is controlling them and how. Could it be that we are dealing here as well with a system of irresponsibility according to which everything has been "coordinated" with everyone but no decision has been made and no one is personally responsible? Clearly, if a department manages on the basis of secrecy it should be controlled by another authority. What is most vexing is that what is kept secret from us is something which is not kept secret from "them." It would be suitable regularly to publish materials covering practical perestroika in that area.

S. Elyukim, Sverdlovsk:

I listened at one point to "The Voice of America," which, among others, commented on an article carried in the September issue of your journal. In as much as I could understand, it applied to No 13 whereas I had only recently received No 12. How does this happen? Before I have even received the journal Washington has not only received it but has managed to read it and to write something on one of its topics. The "nightmarish thoughts" which come to my head are that perhaps "CIA agents" steal the journal from the printing press, bypassing the mail. Could it be, using modern technology, that they can find out about the content of this journal even prior to its publication?

In any case, I am an old and steady subscriber of your journal and feel insulted: Why do they have such an advantage over me?

I beg of you to reassure me with your explanation.

From the Editors: We believe that this question should be addressed to Soyuzpechat. We ask its personnel to help us soothe our subscriber with their explanation.

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Seventieth Birthday Of the Hungarian Communist Party

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[Article by Janos Kadar, MSZMP chairman]

[Text] The MSZMP is the heir of the Hungarian Communist Party, which was created 70 years ago. In its activities, the MSZMP is guided by the principles of scientific socialism and the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The shaping of party policy is inseparably related to the specific historical events it has experienced along its route. In this connection, in analyzing MSZMP activities, let us consider, albeit briefly, the most important events which have influenced the destinies of the country and the people.

The Hungarian Soviet Republic was founded in the spring of 1919, soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the center of Europe. It existed 133 days and fell under the blows of the forces of the international bourgeoisie, which put in power the Horthy counterrevolutionary regime. The Trianon Peace Treaty, which was signed in 1920, poured grist in the mill of the nationalistic, revanchist and anti-Soviet regime which promoted hostility among nations. It was a summation of World War I, as a result of which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory.

In the course of one-quarter of a century, the Horthy regime kept the Communist Party underground. Many progressive people were persecuted, thrown in jail or killed. In World War II, which broke out in 1939,

Hungary took the side of fascist Germany against the Soviet Union and its allies. In March 1944 the fascist forces occupied Hungary and the power in the country shifted into the hand of a pro-Hitlerite government. By the end of 1944, a long 6 months of terror started, unleashed by the Szalasi Milasizt government. Despite persecutions and repressions, however, an antifascist struggle for an independent and democratic Hungary developed in the country.

The Red Army expelled the German-fascist occupation forces from Hungary in the spring of 1945. The country undertook to promote democratic changes. In 1948 the Hungarian people made their final choice: under the leadership of the Communist Party, they took the path of building socialism. Several years later, the cult of personality became rooted in party activities and the country found itself in a condition of social crisis. In 1956 a counterrevolution stopped the process of building socialism; a Hungarian revolutionary worker-peasant government was formed on 4 November 1956 and, under the leadership of the reorganized Communist Party, a political consolidation was achieved quite rapidly. Now, for more than 3 decades the MSZMP has been guiding the building of socialism in the Hungarian People's Republic.

The process of establishment of the Hungarian Communist Party has its prehistory. In the second half of the 19th century, the Hungarian working class already had its own class organizations: mutual aid societies and trade unions. The first all-Hungarian labor party was established in 1878, on the initiative of the Hungarian worker Leo Frankel, one of the noted leaders of the Paris Commune and close fellow worker of Karl Marx; the Hungarian Social Democratic Party was established later, in 1890. It struggled for the working class to develop its own political features. It favored universal democratic elections and defended the vital interests of the working people. On the eve of World War I, unfortunately, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party abandoned the right way and supported the position of the ruling exploiting classes on the question of the war.

The global slaughter brought incalculable catastrophes to the people. In the autumn of 1918 the ruling upper crust acknowledged its defeat in the war; the Austro-Hungarian monarchy broke down and a revolutionary situation developed in Hungary. On 31 October the bourgeois democratic revolution won. The bourgeois government which came to power found itself helpless in the face of the social problems which had accumulated. Furthermore, the country was threatened by foreign military intervention. A new force was needed which could defend and develop the gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and take up the defense of the homeland threatened by intervention. This force was the Communist Party, which was founded in Budapest on 24 November 1918.

The Hungarian Communist Party, headed by Bela Kun, set as its objective, in addition to preserving the democratic achievements of the bourgeois revolution, the elimination of exploitation. This idea was supported by the working class and the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses. At the same time, the Hungarian Communist Party announced that it would try to achieve a peace treaty without annexations and would defend the country's autonomy and independence. The appeal to take up the defense of the fatherland was inscribed on the party's banner. Such aspirations were supported by the patriots, by anyone who cared for the fate of the homeland. Proletarian regiments were formed in the wounded country and took off for the front.

The socialist revolution in Hungary won as a result of the joint efforts and joint struggle waged by the two best organized forces—communists and social democrats—who decided to merge. It was thus that the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed on 21 March 1919. The Socialist Party, which was a labor party in spirit, and which appeared as a result of the merger of the Hungarian communist and social democratic parties, became the leading and guiding force of the revolution. This gave the socialist revolution a feature which V.I. Lenin rated very highly: the victory was achieved peacefully. Within a very short historical period the working class and its allies were able to make tremendous political, economic, cultural and social changes.

However, immediately after the victory of the revolution the representatives of the former ruling classes began to rally with a view to overthrowing the proletarian system. An antibolshevik committee was set up in Vienna, with the participation of I. Betlen, which appealed for help to the Western countries in organizing an armed intervention. Backed by Senegalese forces, which were part of the French expeditionary corps, M. Horthy, a former Austro-Hungarian admiral, raised counterrevolutionary forces in Szeged. The main organizer of the intervention was the Entente, which mobilized all reactionary forces of the old regime in order to achieve its objectives. Military units of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, which feared the revolution, and the troops of the kingdom of Romania, which occupied the country's capital, directly participated in the intervention.

The following fact proves the stubborn resistance of the people and the bourgeoisie's fear of the revolution: although the Hungarian Soviet Republic fell on 1 August, Horthy with his detachments decided to enter occupied Budapest only in November, i.e., 3 months later.

The Horthy counterrevolutionary regime eliminated all the gains of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. About 15,000 revolutionaries and democrats were executed without trial or investigation; all members of the directorate in the city of Szekszard were brutally murdered; many fighters were tortured in the "temporary" jails in

Siofok, Orgovan, Hotel Britania in Budapest and elsewhere. About 100,000 progressive people were forced to emigrate. The counterrevolution truly beheaded the labor movement and the other democratic forces. The negative consequences of the losses which were suffered were felt throughout the entire duration of Horthy's rule and in World War II.

The communists, who were forced to work in clandestine conditions, hurled a challenge at the antidemocratic law of 1921 which banned political activities. Scorning the threat of being sentenced by military tribunals, they undertook to rebuild the party and continued their struggle in defense of the interests of the working class and for easing the situation of the working people frightened by white terrorism.

Although the revolutionary storm in Europe quieted down, ignoring the real situation and the appearance of fascism or the specific situation prevailing in the individual countries, in the first half of the 1930s the Communist International pursued an unrealistic political line which led to the self-isolation of the parties. In accordance with the then Comintern practices, its decisions were mandatory to all parties within it, for which reason the program of the Hungarian Communist Party also set as its objective the immediate establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. For a number of years the unity among antifascist forces was also hindered by the fact that the social democrats were considered traitors to the working class.

In 1935, at its 7th Congress, the Comintern acknowledged that fascism was the main danger. The congress' resolutions called for fighting fascism and the unification of all antifascists. This approach had a beneficial influence on our party as well. All of this was particularly important under the conditions of the outbreak of World War II. The occupation of Hungary by fascist Germany on 19 March 1944, as a result of which the country lost its independence and autonomy, created a new situation. The progressive forces decided to unite in the struggle against fascism. The Hungarian Front was set up and the organization of a military resistance began. The Communist Party, which renamed itself into the Peace Party thus expressed its aspiration and readiness for unification with the broadest possible social circles and contributed to involving them in the party's projects.

The accord of 10 October 1944 concluded between the heads of the communist and the social democratic parties greatly contributed to developing the struggle for an independent and democratic Hungary. The document noted that the end purpose of both parties is to build socialism in Hungary. It emphasized the importance of working class unity and indicated the possibility of creating after the war a "unified and only revolutionary socialist workers party."

The democratic forces suffered huge casualties in the mortal clash against fascism and for an independent and free Hungary. The life of party activists such as I. Sallaj, S. Furst, E. Sagvary and R. Rozsa, the political leader E. Bajcsy-Zsilinski and General J. Kisa (these are only some of the best known names in the long list of patriots who died) proves that the best sons of the Hungarian people, whenever necessary, were ready to go to any sacrifice for the sake of their ideas, the people and the homeland.

On 4 April 1945 the Red Army entirely liberated Hungary from the German-fascist aggressors. This opened the way to the country's democratic development. The people of liberated Hungary, to whom the war had caused great damages, faced difficult problems. It was necessary to earmark the type of objectives which would rally Hungarian society and give it the faith, strength and conviction of the rightness of its cause. It was then that the Hungarian Communist Party (starting with 1944 the Communist Party of Hungary changed its name to Hungarian Communist Party—editor) set the following objectives: to clear up the wreckage, provide basic living conditions, organize the production process, create a new system of state management and carry out a land reform. The party members actively undertook to implement the assignments, thus ensuring the support of the working people. The influence of the Communist Party increased rapidly. The coalition of the Hungarian Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the National Peasant Party and the Small Peasants Party, which had cleansed itself of the reactionaries, went to the parliamentary elections of 1947 with the joint program of the Independence Front. Having garnered 61 percent of the vote, the coalition parties obtained the absolute majority of seats in the parliament. With 22 percent of the entire vote, the Hungarian Communist Party became the leading parliamentary party. The outcome of the struggle for power was solved and the reactionary forces were defeated.

Today, looking at the events of the past, one can confidently say that at that time the Hungarian Communist Party pursued a proper policy, choosing adequately its allies and finding reliable support in the popular masses. It was able to rally the progressive forces of the nation and the parties who were willing to cooperate for the sake of creating a people's democratic Hungary.

The changes which took place in international life called for strengthening the people's democratic system and laying the foundations for a socialist system. Starting with 1947, the process of breakdown of the anti-Hitlerite coalition was accelerated throughout the world; the winds of the Cold War started blowing and international reaction proclaimed an anticommunist crusade.

Under such circumstances the Communist Party reached the conclusion that the most important political prerequisite for the successful implementation of socialist changes was the creation of a unified workers party. The leading authorities of the Social Democratic Party as well believed

that the time for the unification between the two parties had come. The two parties merged on 12 June 1948. To the Hungarian labor movement the founding of the Hungarian Labor Party became an event of historical significance: the organizational separation was eliminated and a single Marxist-Leninist party was established. This step was supported by the working class.

The new deployment of political forces in the country provided a real opportunity for increasing the building of socialism along the entire front. However, the advantages of the socialist system were not suitably applied. Increasingly, sectarian and dogmatic views and methods, which distorted the practice of the building of socialism, began to appear in the activities of the Hungarian Labor Party. Having seized the party's leadership, the Rakosi Group revised the party program, which was, all in all, the right one, changed its political line and turned against its former allies. Its sectarian-dogmatic policy led to gross errors, violations of the Leninist norms of party life and, in the final account, a weakening of the ties between the party and the masses. As a result of this, the pace of building socialism slowed down. Based on Stalin's erroneous concept, according to which, in the course of building socialism the class struggle becomes steadily aggravated and the enemy penetrates the leading party agencies, a search was launched for enemies within the party's leadership. Old party members from the times of the underground and party members who had been in foreign exile in Western European countries, as well as Hungarian internationalists who had fought in Spain found themselves under suspicion. An atmosphere of mistrust was also pressuring the former social democrats. A number of honest party members, our fellow workers from the Social Democratic Party, became victims of arbitrariness during the period of the cult of personality. Many people were innocently sentenced at kangaroo-court trials. There is no forgiveness for such crimes.

A new situation developed after Stalin's death. In June 1953 the Hungarian Labor Party Central Committee passed a resolution on the inadmissibility of using methods alien to the socialist system. The party charted a course of correcting errors and proper tasks were formulated. The party members and all supporters of socialism believed that within a short time the practical correction of the distortions would be undertaken. These expectations were intensified by the historical 20th CPSU Congress, the influence of which is felt to this day. The congress inaugurated a new stage in the international communist movement, and exposed the crimes and distortions related to the cult of Stalin's personality.

However, the elimination of deformations and the restoration of legality dragged out excessively. Furthermore, between 1953 and 1957 our party and the entire country experienced a period of crisis. At the beginning of the 1950s there were two confronting wings within the

party leadership. On the one hand there was the Rakosi clique and, on the other, the group headed by I. Nagy. The two groups had their own interpretation of the resolutions of the June Hungarian Labor Party Central Committee Plenum, based on their interest to strengthen their personal positions, thereby intensifying the ideological-political ferment.

The crisis reached its peak in the last third of October 1956. The wrong policy pursued by the party's leadership triggered discontent and hurt among the broad toiling strata, feelings which spilled out in the streets in the October days of 1956. Naturally, the ranks of the demonstrators also included people who wanted to overthrow the socialist system. Until 23 October many sensibly thinking people still believed in the possibility of a peaceful solution to the crisis and in the democratic and patriotic slogans. However, that evening weapons dumps and telephone stations were seized, the premises of the Hungarian radio were attacked and killings began. Increasingly the structure of the participants in such actions and the actions themselves were assuming a counterrevolutionary nature.

Violating all legal procedures, and without the agreement of the government and the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, I. Nagy decided to disband the people's democratic system and denounce the international allied obligations assumed by the country. This meant adopting the two main demands of the counterrevolution. The sectarian policy of the Rakosi group, added to the threatening danger of civil war and chaos, made a peaceful solution of the crisis impossible.

Under those difficult circumstances, the revolutionary forces which stood on principle-minded Marxist positions, and which had made themselves known as early as 1953-1954, set up a Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government with a view to suppressing the counterrevolutionary mutiny, protecting the people's democratic system, restoring the legal order, surmounting sectarian-dogmatic errors and continuing the building of socialism. In order to avoid civil war and to prevent the armed intervention of imperialist countries, the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government turned for help to the Soviet Union, whose troops were deployed in Hungary in accordance with the stipulations of the Warsaw Pact.

The two Hungarian worker parties have been frequently criticized for having united. Nonetheless, the entire history of the country's labor revolutionary movement proved that cooperation between communists and social democrats has always served the cause of the people and contributed to the implementation of current tasks. Such was the case in March 1919, when the unification between the two parties of the working class made the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic possible; such was the situation in World War II, when in October 1944 the communist and social democratic parties united in the struggle against fascism; such was the case in 1948, when the merger between communists and

social democratic parties contributed to the establishment of a regime of workers; and such was the case in 1956 as well, when the unification of these parties made it possible for the country and the people quickly to solve the crisis triggered by the counterrevolution. Within the reorganized party, the former communists and social democrats merged once and for all, on the basis of equality. Many previously illegally persecuted leaders of the Social Democratic Party, including A. Szakasicz and D. Marosan were elected members of leading party and state agencies. All of this was consistent with the basic interests of the working class and the entire people and was an act of restoration of justice.

The party, which was reorganized in 1956 and which returned to the Leninist principles and methods of party activities started working with a feeling of great upsurge. It was facing huge tasks: the trust of the people had to be restored and their faith in socialism strengthened. The renovated party rejected the erroneous thesis of the constant aggravation of the class struggle, which had caused such severe harm to the cause of socialism. A basic resolution was passed according to which party decisions were mandatory only for party authorities and members of the MSZMP. It was forbidden to interfere in the activities of state and public organizations. The party was to implement its policy through the party members within these organizations through persuasion. Relations between the state and the church were settled. The MSZMP became open to any constructive and useful ideas. An end was put to the previous practice of petty supervision of spiritual life. A basic decision was made to the effect that nonparty people could hold various positions with the exception of those within the party. In the past decades these stipulations have been implemented. Through all of its activities this allied party policy contributed to achieving national cohesion and unity. In its daily work it paid prime attention to making its words match its actions.

The Hungarian people solved their great historical problems under the leadership of the MSZMP. Having creatively applied under Hungarian conditions the Leninist principles of cooperative policy, the party carried out the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Starting with the 1960s, Hungary has been self-sufficient with food even during the worst of times. Along with large farms, a number of auxiliary and private farms were created, thus increasing the well-being of the peasants and improving the population's food supplies.

In the second half of the 1960s, on the party's initiative, the task was set of carrying out an economic reform, the individual elements of which had been defined as early as 1956. Following the necessary preparations, the implementation of the reform was undertaken in January 1968. The reform of the economic mechanism provided new opportunities for overall constructive work. Between 1960 and 1973 industrial production increased by nearly 160 percent; agriculture by more than 50 and national income by more than 130; the population's real income doubled.

Starting with the mid-1970s, however, for a variety of domestic and foreign reasons, economic problems became aggravated in Hungary and the living standard of the population declined, which aggravated the social mood. The party made a profound study of the previous 15 years. Aware of the danger of the situation, it initiated radical changes in economics and in political life. A program for socioeconomic development was adopted by the MSZMP Central Committee on 2 July 1987. On its basis the government formulated a stabilization work program for the period until 1990, which was subsequently approved by the Hungarian State Assembly.

The All-Hungarian Party Conference was summoned in May 1988. The draft party conference resolution was published in advance, for which reason the party aktiv, the state authorities, the scientific institutions and the mass organizations and social movements were able to express their view in advance. The conference passed most important resolutions, taking into consideration the suggestions of the broadest possible social strata.

The party conference focused its attention on the renovation of party activities, the strengthening of its leading role and the development of the system of political institutions. It was emphasized that our purpose is to strengthen the fundamental institutions of the socialist country and to develop socialist pluralism in order to release even further major creative forces and involve the broadest possible population strata in solving the problems facing the country.

The All-Hungary Party Conference passed a resolution on changing the party's work style, strengthening its political content, broadening glasnost, improving the system of elections within the party, expanding the range of competence of elective authorities, respecting the views of the minority and democratizing the party decision-making process.

However, greater independence requires greater responsibility. The decisions adopted at party fora must be made in an atmosphere of open debate and fullest possible freedom of opinion. Once a resolution has been passed, however, as is the case in all Leninist-type parties, the party members must implement it regardless of their personal views. Otherwise the party turns into a debate club and becomes inactive.

The MSZMP tries to see to it that the state mechanism work more independently and more efficiently and that the range of its tasks is defined more accurately and its responsibility is enhanced. We intend to make a clearer distinction between party and state functions and to improve the ways and means of the party's influence on governmental life. In this connection, the Constitution will be revised and changes will be made in the electoral law. The activities of public representative agencies—the State Assembly and the local councils—will be improved and their responsibility will be enhanced. The right to establish autonomous associations, to public meetings,

to all-Hungarian and local referenda, guaranteeing the freedom of conscience and religious belief, respecting the rights of national minorities and ensuring the protection of individual and collective rights will be legislatively codified. A constitutional court and special courts will be created where citizens could appeal illegal administrative actions.

Public ownership of means of production remains the foundation of the socialist system. This is a historical gain of our people, which they treasure. The MSZMP will try to promote the efficiency of public ownership and serve as best as possible the interests of the individual and the entire society. A law on economic societies was approved in principle at the conference and unanimously adopted by the State Assembly. Its essential meaning is that in order to ensure the better satisfaction of the needs of the population, it will allow the creation of mixed ownership enterprises involving the population's savings and foreign capital. It is through such steps that we wish to promote the democratization of sociopolitical life, bring order in the national economy and enhance discipline and labor productivity at work.

The well-being of the Hungarian people will largely depend on the successful implementation of the program for sociopolitical renovation and of a systematic policy of reform. Our main tasks include strengthening constitutional law and order; protecting the basic gains of socialism; preserving public ownership; developing a system of political institutions; upgrading the party's leading role in ideology; and fulfilling our obligations to our allies. This program is consistent with the basic interests of the nation. However, there are those who question the socialist values and political institutions of our system and attack them. Whatever slogan these people may be using to hide their objectives, albeit reformist, and despite their subjective aspirations they are contributing to the division among progressive forces and threatening the completion of the process of economic reforms. Those who deliberately oppose the foundations of the socialist system are doomed to failure, for their policy is inconsistent with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The MSZMP pays significant attention to increasing openness, suitable conditions for which have been provided. The party stimulates and supports all constructive criticism. However, it demands greater responsibility. Since the resolutions which were adopted at the party conference are consistent with the most vital interests of the people, the MSZMP has the right to expect that those who call for glasnost and support these resolutions will help to implement them.

The implementation of the tasks earmarked in the party conference resolutions will not be easy. However, we are assisted by the fact that today the party members and the people of many other socialist countries are working on the implementation of similar tasks. To us the tremendous work on perestroika carried out by the Soviet

people, under the leadership of the CPSU, which is favorably influencing the development of the entire world, is particularly important. The processes occurring in the Soviet Union, China, Hungary and the other socialist countries confirms the advent of the age of a great renovation of socialism. They are already yielding tangible results in international life.

Together with the other fraternal parties, the MSZMP is actively participating in processes related to the renovation of world socialism, for this is consistent with the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic. In engaging in constructive work in its own country and in participating in international activities, our party will continue to do everything possible for Hungary to make its greatest possible contribution to the further development of socialism and to assist in the intensification of cooperation among countries with different social systems, consistent with the common interests of mankind.

The Hungarian communist movement, the Communist Party, have always sought new ways of development. This is the most important experience of our 70-year old history. Such was the case in the period of clandestinity, between the two world wars, after the liberation from fascism and later, after the 1956 counterrevolution, when the reorganized party surmounted sectarian and dogmatic errors and, on the basis of the Leninist norms of party life, headed the struggle for socioeconomic consolidation. Such was the case in the last 3 decades and such is the case today, when the building of socialism must take place under difficult circumstances. The MSZMP heads the work on socialist changes and the reform of the system of political institutions, as well as the further development of democracy.

In conclusion, let me share some personal considerations. In 1931, at the age of 19 I voluntarily joined the Youth Labor Movement and subsequently the Communist Party, which was then underground. For nearly 60 years I have been the member of a party which is celebrating these days its 70th anniversary. Therefore, I have experienced the joy of victories and the bitterness of defeats. As a convinced communist and supporter of the socialist system, I profoundly believe that the party and our socialist system are capable of the renovation, the main trend of which was earmarked at the May Party Conference.

I highly value the significance of the important work being done in the Soviet Union starting with the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on perestroika in the Leninist spirit of party activities and of all Soviet society, also from the viewpoint of the international importance of this work.

I take this occasion to wish, via KOMMUNIST and with all my heart, great success to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people in the implementation of their historical tasks.

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On the Path to Integration: The Ivanovo-Sofia Association

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[Text] The answers which socialism must provide to the challenge of our time are closely related to the qualitatively new approaches in all areas of cooperation among the fraternal countries. A radical restructuring of the integration mechanism of CEMA is forthcoming. It must become an efficient factor for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress within the individual countries and the community as a whole.

One of the prerequisites for the solution of this historical task is, above all, the democratization of the entire system of economic cooperation and the active inclusion of the economic organizations and labor collectives of the fraternal countries in integration processes. This strategy is specifically embodied in direct scientific and production cooperation relations among enterprises. The prime significance of direct interaction among plants, institutes and design bureaus, and asserting this as the leading trend in the restructuring of integration were emphasized at the 44th CEMA Session.

How is the actual cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian enterprises developing in the area of machine building? What are the current problems?

In seeking answers to these questions, our special correspondents addressed themselves to the experience of a scientific-production association which is justifiably described as a peaceful testing ground: it is here that essentially new parts of the integration mechanism are being developed.

Objectives and Prerequisites

The documents which describe the activities of the Ivanovo-Sofia NPO briefly note that its activities include the production of processing centers, flexible industrial modules and systems. What does this apply to? Let us imagine a traditional shop with its variety of metal processing machines as well as a hundred workers leaning over them. The machines are shaping, drilling, grinding, and so on, the various parts. Now this entire equipment has been put together within a processing center. This drastically upgrades labor productivity and significantly improves the quality of the items. It is thanks to this that the processing centers become a factor of strategy, a special link in the chain which leads to the solution of problems in machine building and ensuring a new quality of growth.

According to the specialists in the next 20 years we should expect machine building to double the variety of processed items as well as a significant increase in the complexity of the parts. This is due to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the expansion of the scale of machine building and the intensification of its specialization. Nonetheless, some large modern machines and machine assemblies number not hundreds and thousands but hundreds of thousands of parts. Converting their manufacturing to assembly lines means abandoning the production of one-of-a-kind or small-series machine tools, although the need for them is steadily increasing, for it is precisely they that are on the cutting edge of scientific and technical progress. To rely on general-purpose machine tools with manual controls means taking an extensive path which would involve the employment of ever more people engaged in work which is hard and unattractive, particularly to the young. Nor are such problems solved by one-of-a-kind and small-series production facilities and use of single-purpose machine tools with ChPU. Consequently, we need a new technology which will combine all the necessary operations. Every since processing centers appeared (end of the 1950s) progress in the area of such machines became a steady trend in global machine-tool manufacturing. This is understandable, for practical experience has confirmed the high production, economic and social efficiency of the new equipment.

The features and reputation of the Ivanovo Machine-Tool Building Production Association imeni 50-Letiya SSSR developed essentially over the past 15 years. However, they were suitably acknowledged only at the turn of the 1980s, when the concept of the labor collective prevailed over the sluggishness and indifference of those who made technical policy in that the sector. The victory was convincing. Processing centers produced at Ivanovo earned the firm confidence of consumers in a great variety of industrial sectors and emerged on the world markets. Specialists and public opinion accepted the viewpoint of the ISPO leadership and its general director V. Kabaidze, according to which it is precisely the accelerated production of processing centers that would help to qualitatively change metal processing, eliminate the growing shortage of machine tool operators and rescue hundreds of thousands of people from manual labor.

Relying on the production of progressive items brought recognition: awards at international exhibits, numerous publications in periodicals, radio and television programs, delegations coming to exchange experience, and visits paid by representatives of famous foreign companies.... It seemed that the Ivanovo machine tool builders had all the necessary reasons to enjoy the long-expected results, to bask in the light of their glory and relax somewhat. However, the entire preceding development of the labor collective cautioned against it: relaxation invariably carries with it the threat of stagnation. In June 1985 the ISPO general director attended the conference on problems of accelerating scientific and

technical progress, sponsored by the CPSU Central Committee, at which machine building was described as the basic factor in the tremendous forthcoming work. He returned even more strongly convinced of the need to multiply the efforts and to seek new opportunities for increasing the production of progressive metal cutting equipment. But how to find such capacities if those of the plant itself were fully loaded?

"We proceeded from the requirements of common sense," Vladimir Pavlovich Kabaidze said, stepping to the color chart hanging on the wall in which the new models of processing centers were spreading like a tree, in width and height. "As you can see, we have plenty of ideas and plans. However, the plant has its limits. New construction? This would be expensive and lengthy. Should we place orders with similar enterprises within the country? Bearing in mind the stressed programs of machine-tool building plants and bureaucratic obstructions, which we are only now learning how to surmount, this was not a particularly realistic concept. Consequently, a nontraditional step was necessary. We sought the advice of the Bulgarian comrades, with many among whom we maintained excellent personal relations from university days which, you will agree, is an essential factor in any business discussion. Our thoughts were supported 100 percent.... Within the shortest possible time a draft was prepared containing the principles for the creation of Soviet-Bulgarian scientific-production associations in machine-tool manufacturing. This was obviously fitting, for soon afterwards an intergovernmental accord was signed on setting up two international NPOs: Ivanovo-Sofia and Krasnyy Proletariy-Beroc."

Yes, the initiative of Soviet and Bulgarian economic managers, engineers, party workers and diplomats fell in an area where the interests of the fraternal countries coincide in the development of this basic machine building subsector. Prerequisites for converting to direct economic cooperation already existed.

In addition to items, such as the accelerated application of technical novelties, optimal utilization of production capacities, upgrading production quality, expanding reciprocal procurements of complementing items, machines and equipment, the respective article in the bylaws of the MNPO includes the following tightly binding statement: "Establishing and pursuing trends for joint scientific and technical policy." Consequently, this document, which regulates relations between partners, implies their unity in specific areas and as a whole, and in the area of daily and long-term tasks.

We believe that such a combination of objectives is just about the most valuable in the initial steps taken by this international association. This has its own logic, dictated not by directives but by the natural development of cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian machine tool

builders. The association was set up from below, on the firm foundation of the knowledge of reciprocal needs and possibilities. Who are today the Bulgarian partners of the Ivanovo SPO?

On the Bulgarian side the MNPO includes the Metal Cutting Machines Plants Economic Association which, starting with January of last year, in connection with the inclusion within it of a number of machine building and electronics enterprises and institutes, was renamed into the Comprehensive Automation of Technological Processes Economic Trust. As to the basic unit of cooperation—specific enterprises with their engineering and structural subdivisions—it has remained unchanged. It consists of essentially five plants located in Sofia, Pazardzhik, Khaskovo, Silistra and Mikhaylovgrad, and the Tekhnotronika Control Systems Combine. The enterprises which are part of the economic trust have acquired rich experience in the production of a wide range of metal cutting machines. As to the processing centers, work in this area began as early as the 1970s; their series production was organized at the plant in Pazardzhik in 1978 and, since 1981 the enterprise in Sofia has been manufacturing the MS032 Machine Tool, which is well familiar today at Soviet plants. Over 80 percent of the ZMM output is exported. The development of the trust, therefore, set the task of undertaking the mass production of highly efficient electronically saturated metal cutting equipment. Is everything properly organized and harmonious in the active interaction among numerous economic and administrative units which are part of the association on the Bulgarian side?

"It is hardly necessary to discuss the basic truth that a variety of problems arise in solving such large-scale problems," said Petur Mandzhukov, deputy general director of the KhO KATP and, at the same time, deputy general director of the Ivanovo-Sofia MNPO. "I point this out, for occasionally our practical difficulties are considered as virtually insurmountable barriers. However, we have been surmounting and will continue to surmount them. On the other hand, we must not ignore the real difficulties. Within a short period of time the Bulgarian plants must be retooled. They must master the new technology, solve the problem of worker skills and almost immediately undertake to produce finished goods. Some of the enterprises adopt the new ideas in the course of their work and master promising item quickly. However, there also are collectives in which the strict requirements concerning pace and quality have not been adopted as yet. We hope that this is a temporary phenomenon, for learning practical cooperation with a worthy partner is a demanding school in which no one can afford to fall systematically behind. Our main reserve is to upgrade labor productivity. However, I believe that this task must not be considered simplistically, as one of catching up with the Ivanovo people in terms of labor productivity. This objective is not infinitely difficult and achieving it is not an infinitely distant prospect. What is much more important is to achieve in the course of this

Bulgarian-Soviet Association a productivity based on combining the latest achievements of science and quickly adapting the production process to them."

1985-1988. Results and Problems

In 1987 the joint output of the processing centers was 628 units, i.e., 60 percent over and above the stipulated figure. The volume of reciprocal procurements of assemblies on the basis of cooperation—castings, complementing items and equipment for technical retooling—virtually doubled last year and reached 12.5 million rubles. Furthermore, processing centers worth more than 22 million rubles were supplied to the customer in the USSR (108 units or an increase of 60 percent over 1986).

The joint plan for scientific research and design was overfulfilled. The combined efforts in this area enabled the Ivanovo SPO to start the manufacturing of IS-500 and IS-800 processing centers 2 years ahead of schedule and significantly to accelerate the series production of IR-200 and IRT-180 processing centers and to start manufacturing IPL-1600 laser processing centers.

As a whole, the Bulgarian machine tool builders accepted the suggestion of the Ivanovo people on the pace to be maintained in the development and assimilation of new equipment. For example, the first IR-200 was manufactured at the Metalik Plant in Pazardzhik. It took 4.5 months. Like in any other project, here the combination of the efforts of labor collectives of our countries was manifested at its best. It enables us to achieve quality shifts in a great variety of areas of joint work.

"We received documentation for the IR-200 even before its production had been undertaken in Ivanovo. For that reason our interaction became based on competitiveness," said Plant Director Lyudmil Popov. "Problems appeared less because of lack of confidence in our forces (to us the production of automated machine tools is nothing new) than because of the need rapidly to organize cooperated supplies with several Bulgarian plants, for 75 percent of the parts of the new machine were Bulgarian made. We outstripped the Ivanovo people in terms of time and quality and won the competition in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress. Now the IR (Ivanovo-Boring) processing centers are known as IP (Ivanovo-Pazardzhik). Currently our task is to increase the volume of new output and to prepare for the next and more difficult stage: the production of flexible modules based on the IP-200."

Naturally, these are not the complete data on the work of the Soviet-Bulgarian Association but the most optimistic ones. Their study leads to the natural question: What else can we demand of the partners?

We visited the Pretsiz Plant in Mikhaylovgrad at a difficult time. The plant's obligation for the production of toolboxes were being fulfilled unrhythmically. The quantity indicators stipulated in the contract had not

been attained. Although Ivan Borisov, the plant's director and Georgi Pantaleev, the party committee secretary, tried to instill in us their confidence by describing the measures which will enable the plant to catch up, it was clear that the Ivanovo people will not receive the necessary number of pieces. What was the matter? This is a well equipped modern plant and its managers are experienced engineers.

Clearly, not all components of future joint work were taken into consideration by the management of the MNPO when they placed an order with the Pretsiz Plant in Mikhaylovgrad. The plant recently celebrated its 20th birthday. It had been organized on the basis of a modest industrial combine and engaged primarily in the manufacturing of dies, presses and other technological equipment which did not require any knowledge and skill to the extent needed for the production of a complex part such as the toolbox which includes from 60 to 90 cutters, blades and drills which it supplies to the work areas on the basis of electronic commands. The contract was signed while the equipment was only beginning to be installed in the reorganized Shop 1,500 and work shifts were being set up. Although the most experienced technologists, tuners of ChPU machine tools, and programmers were urgently sent there from Ivanovo, the start-up failure could not be avoided.

We described here an event in the life of the Pretsiz Plant not in the least for the reason that it was easier to voice a few critical remarks concerning the current situation (incidentally, according to the latest information, matters have improved in Mikhaylovgrad). It is a question of something else, such as the fact that one cannot consider the present stage in the activities of the Ivanovo-Sofia Association on the basis of unconditional optimism. It is true that the MNPO was set up on the high road of development of integration relations and is being assisted by a number of efficient factors, and that the initial results have clearly confirmed the reciprocally profitable nature of cooperation among machine tool builders within the association. However, this live and complex project is advancing and developing. Each step taken in the joint activities of Bulgarian and Soviet machine builders faces the international collective with new technical, economic and moral problems in the solution of which not individuals but entire collectives become involved. With classical licensing agreements, so far, generally speaking, certain forms of industrial cooperation with other companies have always developed within a strictly defined framework: submission of documentation, a certain number of man/days of training, payment operations, and that is all. Joint work within the Ivanovo-Sofia MNPO is by no means reduced to partnership in a single, albeit complex deal, alone. Workers and engineers meet and work together; knowledge is exchanged without "trade secrets", shortcomings are reciprocally criticized without unnecessary diplomacy and specific decisions are being made. It is noteworthy that the people in the shops discuss not only technical details and implementation of plan indicators but also economic incentives for cooperation, the social programs of the collectives and their current and long-term problems.

Let us name several such problems which most frequently arise in the course of our talks with Soviet and Bulgarian specialists, economic managers and party workers:

Under circumstances in which the pace of mastering the production of new items and their quality must observe stricter requirements, breakdowns in the deadlines for reciprocal procurements affect quite painfully the labor collectives (for example, supplying the Ivanovo partners with items such as cooling units, shaft bearings, hydraulic elements and castings has been the subject of a great deal of complaints); in this case it is necessary not only persistently to undertake to streamline the production process but also closely to analyze the entire transportation system (for example, referring to production costs, the Bulgarian Mashinostroy Association is extremely unwilling to undertake the trucking of the items);

A trend is developing according to which the leading Bulgarian enterprises, using the advantages of cooperation, are trying to produce finished goods and, respectively, to offer their goods on the market independently; such an aspiration, which is entirely natural from the viewpoint of the cost accounting interest of Bulgarian enterprises, contradicts, to a certain extent, the positions of the ISPO which is, above all, interested in increasing procurements of complementing items; obviously, the statutes of the MNPO must take this contradiction into consideration;

The lack of reliable ChPU systems, domestically produced, is a major difficulty; for example, the Soviet systems for machine tools and the Bulgarian systems for robots are much less reliable than those produced by the Phanuk Company (Japan); as a result, the completed processing centers are not always promptly equipped with the necessary attachments and marketed; the USSR Minpribor, USSR Minelektronprom and Bulgarian Tekhnotronika Combine are solving problems related to creating reliable ChPU systems extremely slowly;

Today the main hindrance in the development of cooperation on an economic basis is, according to the partners, differences in the ratios of prices and production costs in Bulgaria and the USSR;

The practice of interaction among the regional CPSU and BCP Party Committees and the party committees of the cooperating enterprises must be improved.

As we can see, the cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian machine tool builders is following an ascending line not only in terms of successes but of problems as well. Here we are simply listing them, not mentioning specific situations. We believe, however, that even presented in this manner, said difficulties and unsolved problems most clearly indicate that the present stage in the life of the MNPO requires a multiplication of efforts on the part of anyone involved in its long-term development.

Guidelines For the Future

The Ivanovo people began daringly, relying more on an intuitive feel for an early victory than on scrupulous computations. There is no permanent telephone communication system with Sofia. It was necessary to explain to the highest officials that this was not a privilege but a prerequisite for the normal functioning of the association. Assignments were slow: people were sent to Bulgaria paying their own expenses, like tourists. Sparing no efforts or time, they worked in the plants of the fraternal country, attaining record-setting times for mastering the production of new items and, while reducing labor intensiveness by several hundred percent. They abandoned existing stereotypes according to which the area of foreign trade was reserved only to those aware of its complexity with the plants sticking to their own work: produce in accordance with the plan and patiently wait for planned subsidies. In the course of their innovative initiatives, the Soviet and Bulgarian machine tool builders hardly coordinated their steps. What lay ahead? What were the possibilities of developing a mechanism for cooperation, which would include the thrust of enthusiasm and an economically substantiated mutually profitable system?

Let us anticipate the question: Is the Ivanovo-Sofia MNPO losing? Taking into consideration the marketing of the finished goods, the bottom line is that the association is profitable. Procurements of parts and assemblies on a cooperated basis, however, as we already pointed out, presented a major problem. Let us cite a specific example: a storage unit for the IR-500 processing center, manufactured in Ivanovo, requires half the production costs of the same item imported from Bulgaria. As a result, in 1986 the ISPO incurred from cooperated procurements losses totaling 330,000 rubles. Last year, as a result of the increased amount of cooperation, the Ivanovo losses totaled some 2 million rubles. This is not a one-sided process. The Bulgarian enterprise managers also point out that with the present mechanism of direct relations and internal price systems, the labor collectives have no strong economic interest in international cooperation.

Naturally, under these circumstances one could try and set aside the commodity-monetary tool of cooperation and convert to barter. However, would that solve the problem? "No," machine builders in Bulgaria and the USSR say. "As a one-time measure, as a solution to an isolated pressing situation, barter could be used. However, in terms of long-range intensified joint work, it leads to an impasse." Consequently, further research and efforts to solve the problem are needed.

Based on the view expressed by Soviet and Bulgarian economists and economic managers, let us consider the problem in its entirety.

The cooperation mechanism, which has operated in CEMA for decades, was useful in trade, in the course of which individual countries were the subjects of commercial relations. Internal price setting developed under the

conditions specific to the individual country. It is clear that with such a state of affairs producers were denied any direct economic participation in the marketing of their product. The equivalence in trade was achieved on the intergovernmental level.

Now, however, events are beginning to develop differently: commodity producing enterprises are entering the sphere of direct integration. The interest of the enterprises is dictated by their own cost accounting. As long as partners exchange finished products no questions arise, for here the adopted principle of trade based on international prices operates. However, problems of price setting appear with reciprocal procurements of assemblies and parts. Objectively they are based on historically developed differences in national price levels. In our specific case the problem lies in the substantially lower Soviet prices of raw materials and energy, compared to Bulgaria, and differences in the regulations governing internal plant production costs. What to do?

The general CEMA rules stipulate that international prices should be used as a base. Since this means state subsidies to the Ivanovo people, such an approach directly conflicts with the course of perestroika of the economic mechanism. If the Ivanovo price is adopted, the need for subsidies arises, but this time in Bulgaria. Meanwhile, both partners urgently need assemblies and parts, for it is precisely their mass production that is one of the main objectives in the creation of this international association.

In this connection, the view expressed by V.P. Kabaidze, general director of the MNPO, is noteworthy:

"I am convinced that the problem of price differences is frequently overdramatized. Occasionally, reference is made to world prices as the absolute standard. But are there such standards in economics? It is common knowledge that for the sake of capturing the market a company may drastically lower its prices and, consequently, take major losses. This problem does not tolerate dogmatism. It involves as much art as science."

For the time being, the partners have adopted the following system: delivery prices of assemblies produced in Bulgarian plants are set in accordance with material costs, withholdings and profits based on the national standards plus the norms of labor productivity adopted in Ivanovo. Naturally, this goes far beyond a simple compromise. We see here the next step, part of the common movement: lining up on the basis of higher productivity, which is mandatory for normal development.

What lies in the immediate future? The association is as yet to establish its own base for incentives for the intensification of cooperation in all areas. Unsolved problems include those of creating common funds as a result of joint activities and the management of such funds, exporting on the markets of third countries and distribution of foreign exchange costs and profits. A number of specific problems

must also be solved in connection with the application of full cost accounting: shops and brigades must feel the effect of joint activities directly rather than indirectly. Clearly, the development of the MNPO will also raise the question of joint ownership.

Today the Soviet and Bulgarian machine tool builders have no ready prescriptions and it would be naive to think that the mechanism of industrial cooperation will appear immediately in its completed aspect. It is only live experience, the combination of theory with practice, that will lead to optimal decisions. A firm foundation for this process is the common logic of radical economic reforms and the essential coincidence of their objectives in Bulgaria and in the Soviet Union.

In April 1988, in a discussion on the main trends followed in the intensification of economic integration, A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and permanent Soviet representative to CEMA, noted the following:

"The establishment of joint enterprises and organizations is only part of the comprehensive radical restructuring of the entire system of integration cooperation. The 43rd and 44th CEMA sessions yielded certain results. They concretized the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for the 1991-2005 period and set the targets and common tasks in restructuring the integration mechanism. The most important aspect of these activities was the future organization of a unified CEMA market. This objective is dictated by the logic of development of our national economic complexes: we must produce what the consumer needs. We consider that starting to develop markets for specific commodity groups is a major step in that direction.

"As to the Ivanovo-Sofia Association, its pioneering experience is particularly valuable to us. In my view," A.K. Antonov went on to say, "the dynamics of development of the MNPO is, as a whole, positive. A great deal has been done to eliminate a number of bureaucratic obstacles. The operating regulatory documents provide significant opportunities for the choice of the optimal variants in any area of cooperation. It is true that practical experience is constantly presenting us with new problems. However, the Ivanovo-Sofia MNPO partners have proved their ability to solve them creatively, without bias. The most important incentive here is that of reciprocal advantages. As the results achieved by the association prove, this incentive exists."

In Sofia, several days later, we met with Andrey Lukinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of foreign economic relations. He said:

"We look at joint enterprises within the framework of a general long-term development: the establishment of a single socialist market. In the course of their activities we are testing elements of currency convertibility and

means of direct access by the partners to national markets. The shoots of socialist competition are developing. All of this is a practical manifestation of the initial elements of a unified market.

"A great deal has been done to ensure the normal development of joint Bulgarian-Soviet enterprises. Today our efforts are focused on providing maximally favorable credit, currency-financial, administrative and material and technical support conditions. We are planning the establishment of a Soviet-Bulgarian financial company (it has already been organized—the editors), and a Soviet-Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. We hope that these steps will help to improve the economic environment in which cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria is developing."

Despite the inevitable and largely expected difficulties, the results of the work of many international enterprises and organizations, above all those of the Ivanovo-Sofia MNPO, are encouraging. Thanks to this the initiative-minded quest for economic partners by other enterprises is increasing. This process is gaining momentum in the best possible meaning of this term: the momentum of progress. Naturally, this does not mean that now one should only sit back and record positive changes. A tremendous amount of work lies ahead for anyone who, one way or another, is participating in the creation of the mechanism of socialist integration.

Therefore, the results of the activities of the machine tool builders are rated fruitful. Nonetheless, both of our interlocutors noted the need for greater efforts, for consolidating achievements and for systematically eliminating difficulties and hindrances. In this connection, a suggestion frequently expressed in the course of our meetings with Soviet and Bulgarian specialists is worthy of support: a task force with broad rights is needed. It should include representatives of the competent authorities of both countries, who will develop the fundamental principles governing the functioning of joint enterprises and, above all, common rules for defining their profitability, foreign currency coefficients based on the conversion of domestic into foreign trade prices, and procedures and sources for compensating for disparities between internal wholesale and foreign trade prices (such a group was recently set-up within the Intergovernmental Soviet-Bulgarian Commission For Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation—editors).

However, man does not live by bread alone. The intensive search of ways leading to a faster growth of our general well-being in no way sets aside for the Soviet and Bulgarian machine tool builders the second and no less important aspect of cooperation. This refers to the spiritual reciprocal enrichment and the establishment of true worker comradeship. Following are a few descriptions of our meetings with those who, in the course of daily affairs and concerns, have experienced the high meaning of work in a new fashion, which cannot be quantified.

According to I. Borisov, director of the Pretsiz Plant, the Ivanovo boys are heroes. V. Mironov, head of milling brigade workers at the ISPO, spoke slowly and with conviction: "In Bulgaria the people behave toward us in a good-natured way and we try to reciprocate." ...Evgeni Chulakov, chief engineer at the Metalik Plant, emphasizes that it is better to work together for 1 week than to look at each other via television for a year. It is only thus that we can directly combine the reputation and prestige of our enterprises and prestige is quite an expensive commodity....

The MNPO is developing a structure of reciprocal contacts among trade unions and Komsomol organizations; contracts for labor rivalry have been concluded between the head plants, the casting shops and other production subdivisions; the machine tool builders exchange trips by members of amateur ensembles and sports delegations. In our view, however, this is a separate and very interesting topic which I would not like to discuss in haste.

The Bulgarian and Soviet machine builders are facing new economic, scientific and technical and production-organizational problems. The following question also arises: How to solve topical problems with the active participation of anyone on whom the fate of one initiative or another depends? Practical experience has indicated that the initiative is almost entirely in the hands of the economic managements. Their responsibility will remain tremendous in the future as well. However, the developing cooperation mechanism also contains an inexhaustible reserve for rich participation by the labor collectives in settling the major and minor concerns of the MNPO on a broad democratic basis. In this respect the party organizations play an irreplaceable role. So far everything or almost everything based on traditional experience has been done: contacts have been established and the creation of a council of party organization secretaries has been initiated. What predominates, however, is joint political and agitation support for cooperation and a primary concern for specific economic tasks. The problems facing the MNPO, however, require significantly more substantial and broad initiatives.

First is the establishment of new approaches to the party's leadership of the economy, organically related to strengthening the role of the association's collectives. Workers and specialists need full and accurate economic information on the state and basic trends of development of their common affairs. The problem of creating a representative group to coordinate the activities of the international association, from the viewpoint of its long-term development, has already been discussed. However, even its efficient work could hardly replace that which the party organizations, without waiting for special instructions, could accomplish as of now. This refers to forms of active interaction between the elected authorities of labor collectives.

The development of enterprises within the association on an integration basis obviously presumes the purposeful and lengthy exchange of workers and specialists and not

only of technical assistance groups. Joint scientific collectives must be created as well. A number of other important decisions could be not only formulated but also implemented by actively interacting labor collectives.

The Soviet and Bulgarian machine tool builders have covered an important and, perhaps, most difficult segment of the way. Actually, in this case linear comparisons are hardly suitable, for it is essentially a question of the reciprocal influence exerted by the economies of the two countries and the coincidence between the sociopolitical and spiritual interests of our nations, based on the firm foundations of joint labor. For that reason it is better to speak of a multidimensional process which is quickly gathering momentum.

Ever new labor collectives of enterprises and scientific and design-engineering organizations in Bulgaria and the USSR are joining in this process. To them the example of the Ivanovo-Sofia MNPO, in which the vital requirements of social integration are being met, are of particular importance. Everything necessary must be done for this experience, with all of its difficulties and contradictions, to facilitate and straighten the path of anyone who is or will be following it.

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Lessons Learned From the Destinies of Great Powers

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[Article by Natalya Arsenyevna Dolgoplova, candidate of historical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences U.S. and Canada Institute, and Andrey Afanasyevich Kokoshin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences U.S. and Canada Institute; thoughts on the subject of the book by Paul Kennedy "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers. Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000."]]

[Text] The comprehensive study of the processes which are taking place in the contemporary system of international relations allows us to say that increasingly major changes of a structural nature are becoming apparent within it, shifts on an almost tectonic scale. Such shifts will determine the landscape of world politics for decades to come.

Understanding the occurring changes is becoming possible not only for a narrow circle of scientists and politicians but the public as well. Interest in history is growing.

both at home and abroad. An increased interest in history is noted, in particular, in the United States, where traditionally the broad public has lagged behind Europe in this area.

However, even against this background the success of the book by P. Kennedy, a British scientist now living in the United States, and Yale University professor, which came out in 1988, is striking: for more than 6 months this thick 700-page book (P. Kennedy. *"The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers. Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000."* New York, 1988), which was clearly addressed at specialists and knowledgeable readers, has been on the best seller list. The book drew the attention not only of the general readership, for it has been mentioned in American political circles as well. A special discussion of this work took place in the U.S. Congress. A sharp debate was launched on its subject in the mass periodical press, in the course of which the author has had to answer the charges of conservatives who accused him of "historical pessimism," "defeatist moods" and "economic determinism."

What is the reason for such an interest in this work? In our view, it is above all the result of Kennedy's desire to draw lessons from the world's historical experience of the great powers of the past in terms of U.S. foreign and domestic policy and the clear need for new approaches and new visions in world politics.

The retrospective view of the author, on which his historical and philosophical thoughts are founded, covers a major period, even when considered from the viewpoint of the entire history of mankind: almost 500 years, starting with the year 1500. He looks at major governmental systems such as the Habsburg State, feudal-absolutist France, the Napoleonic Empire, the British Empire and other major powers, including Russia, as well as complex configurations of coalitions, and the policy of balance of powers of European countries and the main wars of that period.

The author deals extensively with the main subjects of international relations after World War II. In the part dealing with our time, naturally, the United States is in the center of his attention, along with its shifting position in the world. Kennedy tries to look ahead to the 21st century as well, with its possible outlines of power correlations. The author set himself the major task of singling out the factors which lead to the rise and fall of great powers and to trace the interconnection between economics and military strategy and between peace- and war-time policy.

The great interest in this book, written in an academic dry style, and largely dealing with the past, does not, on the surface, fit the traditional concept of the reading tastes of the American public. In this connection, the overwhelming majority of Americans, including some segment of the intelligentsia, with their faith in the "American exclusivity," which somehow takes America

outside the framework of the historical experience of the rest of the world, share the characteristic feature of not being burdened with knowledge of the past of other countries and peoples and viewing current affairs exclusively from the pragmatic viewpoint, from the viewpoint of U.S. "national interests." The interest shown in Kennedy's book is all the more unusual if we remember the familiar orientation of the American public "toward success."

However, a closer consideration of the frame of mind of the people in the United States would reveal significant changes which, in the final account, reflect the changes which have taken place in the position of this country in the world. A growing national debt, budget deficits and fast transformation of the United States from creditor to debtor, and the growing stress of remaining on the cutting edge of science and technology under the pressure of very aggressive competitors, have triggered a wave of concern in a variety of social circles, including a significant segment of the ruling class and the ruling political spheres. People knowledgeable in the areas of economics, finance and long-term trends are not reassured by the fact that the economic indicators of the past 5 or 6 years such as, for example, employment and inflation, have improved compared with the preceding period. They fear that the still somewhat concealed unhealthy condition of the American economy could emerge on the surface when it will be too late to do anything about it. That same pragmatic interest is urging the adoption of a careful attitude toward the past of the "Old World," and encourages interested minds to become familiar with the historical patterns governing the rise and fall of various powers.

Of late, it has become somewhat popular to draw parallels between the present situation and the pre-crisis situation in the capitalist world at the end of the 1920s. Many Western economic historians have undertaken to study the situation of Great Britain at the turn of the 20th century, and of the Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century, i.e., of times when these powers were beginning to lose their dominant global economic positions. In recent years, a new school of radical economists has emerged in the United States, persistently cautioning that unless U.S. policy is not radically changed in setting main "national priorities," the country could share the fate of other former great powers.

Therefore, Kennedy is not alone in showing an interest in this topic. However, unlike many other major and minor works by bourgeois authors on this topic, his book is a most significant attempt at determining the common criteria which govern the rise and fall of countries, with the help of extensive historical data.

It is not only the unusual popularity of this work, instructive from the viewpoint of assessing the American state of mind, that makes its analysis necessary. The point is that it raises truly important theoretical questions on a global level: What does the power of a state

mean, what are the factors influencing the dynamics of this power, both in the past and the present, and how are changes taking place in the macrostructure of the system of international relations, and many other. These questions assume particular significance and interest in the case of our society as well, which is working its way out of the period of stagnation.

The question of the power of the state, which is closely related to the theme of this book, has been extensively discussed in the West. This topic has been developed in Marxist science as well. The Marxist-Leninist approach to assessing the power of a state is based on the consideration of a broad range of criteria and is not limited to obvious indicators, such as size and topography, population size, and availability of natural resources. Nor is the power concept reduced to the military potential, which is typical of many bourgeois authors and which, to his credit, Paul Kennedy has avoided in his work. Despite the entire importance of this indicator, on a long-term basis, it is not the main measure of the power of a state in the international arena. The determining factor in assessing the role of the state in the world arena is the socioeconomic system and the level reached by a specific production method. In this case, along with natural and manpower resources, we add complex indicators, such as the structure of the national economy, the volume of industrial and agricultural output and its quality, and the scale and efficiency with which scientific and technical achievements are applied in practical work. A factor, such as the ability of the state to ensure the adequate protection of the environment, to maintain ecological safety, is becoming increasingly important.

The level of development of the information industry is becoming an almost key factor of the power of a country today. This does not simply imply the mass use of computers but their integration in widespread and accessible networks. Basic science is becoming one of the direct factors of the power of a state. This is not only the result of the role played by scientific discoveries in terms of applied technical solutions in industry, transportation, communications, agriculture or environmental protection, but also of the role of science as a most important sociocultural component, as an inseparable part of the comprehensive aspect of a contemporary developed society.

Indicators, such as the quality of education of the population, its general cultural standard, including the presence within it of the critical mass supplied by the intelligentsia—a balanced combination of its scientific and technical, humanitarian and creative components—are becoming increasingly important. The economic and sociopolitical health of a country is the foundation of its power in the international arena. It largely rests on the optimal correlation between the state and the civilian society, with the clear prevalence of the latter.

Nor should we ignore the moral factor, the moral component of the power of the state, as V.I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out in his thoughts on the policies of Soviet

Russia. A noticeable change for the better in the international relations of the USSR over the past 3 years, without any whatsoever specific increase in our military and economic power and despite the existence of grave domestic problems, is one of the specific confirmations of the role of the moral factor, the importance of which is enhanced under the conditions of an interdependent world and the development of a new information civilization.

The Marxist understanding of the power of the state does not absolutize any one of these components. It bases its comprehensive approach to qualitative and quantitative aspects and the possibility of the conversion of some forms into other.

Nonetheless, we must point out that the problems of the correlation of power among states, manifested in different aspects of development of the system of international relations during one historical time or another, are randomly reflected in our social sciences. We are clearly short of fundamental historical-philosophical works describing the laws governing the development of international relations and the dynamics and hierarchy of factors which trigger changes in their structure.

As to Professor Kennedy, in his view the power of a state is defined by parameters, such as population size, share of the urban population, geographic location, share of the global industrial output, level of industrialization, size of the GNP (in more recent times), financial situation, the taxation system, military expenditures, production of technically advanced armaments, ability to mobilize resources for waging war and the efficient use of the national well-being, the moral and political condition of the population, subjective features of the national leadership, and others. According to Kennedy, at different historical stages different power factors have played the dominant role.

What, in Kennedy's view, was the basis of the European upsurge in terms of political, military and economic power, starting with the 15th century? In the tradition of J. Herder, the German philosopher and historian of the 18th century, as well as others, Kennedy points out the variety of economic and military power centers in Europe which, from his viewpoint, "was of fundamental significance." Since in this area a number of rivaling political associations existed, most of which had arms at their disposal or the possibility of acquiring them in order to defend their independence, "not one of them was able to dominate the continent." This was a combination of economic laissez-faire and political and military pluralism (albeit from the viewpoint of future developments and despite their rudimentary condition) which, in the course of constant internal interaction, created, according to Kennedy, the "European miracle."

No such mixture of critical ingredients, Kennedy notes, existed in the other world centers of those times, with their rigid social structures, despotic rule, self-isolation

or major overloads and a relatively static nature, while Western Europe was rapidly advancing to the center of the world arena.

Unfortunately, like his Western colleagues, Professor Kennedy ignores one of the most important external condition for a favorable development of that area. The Russian principalities (and, to a certain extent, the other Eastern European countries) shielded in the 13th century Western Europe from the destructive repeatedly mounted invasions of nomads, which had started in Central Asia, known as the Tatar-Mongol Invasion. By absorbing the main power of this invasion and weakening the offensive potential of the Batyya Horde and several generations of its heirs (the Golden Horde and others), which threatened all of Europe with terrible devastation, unquestionably medieval Rus played a very significant role in the making of the "European miracle." Rus itself paid for this with almost 2.5 centuries of loss of sovereignty, slow-down and deformations in its economic, social, cultural and political development. The position in which the Russian principalities found themselves as a result of the Tatar-Mongol invasion was used by their Western neighbors, who substantially worsened the positions of Rus.

Deprived of outlets on the Black and Baltic seas, Rus was prevented from developing a full-scale trade-economic and cultural interaction with Europe. Equally important was the fact that the lack of communications by sea resulted in a tremendous lag behind Europe in the development of the precise sciences and technical knowledge, such as astronomy, mathematics, mechanics, optics and others.

Kennedy provides no more than an outline of the cultural, ethnographic and sociopsychological factors in the history of the development of the states. Worse, however, he virtually skims over the study of the development of production forces and production relations. Nor does he study the changes which occurred in the social structures of societies and political systems.

Thus, in considering the decline of the Habsburg State in the 16th century, the author clearly depicts the excessive load assumed by Spain in terms of military expenditures in order to maintain its global aspirations, and its exhaustion caused by debts incurred under Emperor Charles V and King Philip II, despite the tremendous income extracted from the colonies in the New World. Without denying the importance of these circumstances, it is nonetheless difficult to have a complete picture of the decline of the Habsburg monarchy without a consideration of the internal sociopolitical features and characteristics of that country, such as the centralizing policy of Charles V and the despotism of Philip II, the exceptionally inflated bureaucratic apparatus, the terror of the Inquisition, the triumph of Catholic theocracy over the development of private enterprises, popular uprisings in

its possessions, and the bourgeois revolution in the Netherlands, which took the aspect of a national-liberation struggle against Spanish yoke.

Kennedy virtually ignores that which, to the Marxist researcher, is the typical feature of that age, making it a turning point in the history of mankind: the destruction of feudal relations and the appearance of capitalist manufacturing. Yet it is precisely these processes which caught the European countries in the 16th century at different stages in their development and which influenced their fate differently. Thus, the Spanish nobility, which became enriched with income from its possessions in America and taxes paid by the population of the territories it had seized, was less interested in the economic development of the country than, let us say, the British nobility which became bourgeoisified from the very beginning, or else the French nobility which was enriched as a result of feudal rent paid by its peasants and taxes levied on trade and industry.

Kennedy does not discuss socioeconomic features in analyzing the international European system of countries in the 17th to the 19th centuries. In his view, it was not the British bourgeois and French revolutions that provided the impetus for the development of a system of international relations in modern times but the "industrial revolution" of the latter period. We cannot agree with this, for it is precisely the "political" revolutions, as the author calls them, that largely predetermined industrial change and cleared the way for its advent. The lessons drawn from such a consistent development of events in global history remain relevant to this day. Furthermore, we believe, they could be applied to our own country's problems. Thus, today the implementation of a consistent radical economic reform and the release of the entire tremendous potential of production forces in our multinational country would be impossible without a renovation of our political system and democratization, above all by qualitatively enhancing the role of soviets on all levels.

According to Marx, bourgeois revolutions brought "the victory of bourgeois over feudal ownership, of the nation over provincialism, of competition over the guild structure, of split ownership over mayoralties, of the domination of the landowner over the owner of the land, of education over superstition,... of enterprise over glorified laziness, and of bourgeois law over medieval privilege" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 6, p 115). They could not fail to influence the deployment of forces throughout the world. They had a deep influence on military affairs as well, and on the possibility of mobilizing manpower and material resources for waging wars. They influenced ideological and political life in other countries. The French Revolution did for the bourgeoisie "so much that the entire 19th century, the century which brought all mankind civilization and culture, occurred under the sign of the French Revolution," V.I. Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 367).

Some of the author's views on the development of military affairs at the different stages of European and global history are simplified and, in some cases, also erroneous. This applies, for example, to the role of infantry and cavalry in the 16th-18th centuries, and the sources for raising armies at that time. In this area Kennedy is much inferior to the author of the 7-volume *"History of Military Art Within the Framework of Political History,"* by the German H. Delbruck, and even more so to the Russian and Soviet military theoretician and historian A.A. Svechin, whose works *"History of Military Art," "Strategy,"* and *"Evolution of Military Art,"* remain by and large unsurpassed to this day.

As we make these remarks, we must also bear in mind that the work done by Professor Kennedy is truly tremendous. He has provided us with a serious study of an extensive and most interesting material and, as we congratulate the author for his success, we can only regret the fact that priority in the development of such a major topic has remained in the hands of a Western scientist.

In assessing the dynamics of international structures, Kennedy uses a relatively simple methodological system. For each historical period he singles out one or several states which, in terms of their significance could at that time claim to be holding leading positions (or even a hegemony) in the international system. In order to implement their aspirations (above all the development of military power and the seizure and retention of territories) they mobilized tremendous resources which, at a certain stage, turned into an excessive burden to the economy and finances of the state. The overextension of material resources, which parallel this moral and spiritual exhaustion of the nation, and the inflated obligations lead to a "superload," and an erosion in the positions of the great power, forcing it sometimes to assume even weaker positions compared to those it held at the beginning of its upsurge and its struggle for a dominant position in the area or the world. A relative weakening of powers aspiring to hegemony takes place, as Kennedy indicates, also as a result of the growing military, economic and technical rivalry coming from other countries, which are themselves involved in this struggle for hegemony, as well as those which are somewhat outside it but which join in the battle of the leading powers not fully but by committing only part of their resources.

The cyclical system suggested by Kennedy in the study of the development of the situation of individual countries within the system of international relations is similar to the methodology of British historian Arnold Toynbee, which he developed in one of the stages of his work (the 1920s-1940s), as applicable to different civilizations. It also agrees with the theory of the Soviet scientist L.N. Gumilev in terms of the *ethnos* (the nation).

According to Toynbee, the main "graspable unit of historical development" is "civilization," understood as a certain spatial-temporal area which includes, as a rule, a group of countries which share a certain spiritual commonality. These civilizations undergo phases of

upsurge, maturity and decline in the course of their development. According to L.N. Gumilev, who developed the theory of passionality which, incidentally, is disputed by many Soviet scientists, the history of any *ethnos* (nation) fits within the "impetus-rise-overheating-decline-extinction" system. The existence of such coincidences among scientists who have chosen as their topic of research similar but nonetheless different major social projects is noteworthy.

The description of a country in a state of decline, provided by Kennedy, is particularly impressive. The weaker they seem to feel, according to Kennedy, the greater the emphasis they place on military power, as compensation for their lost security. Quite indicative in this respect is the aspiration of the British ruling circles on the eve of World War I to maintain, despite ever growing financial-economic difficulties, positions of absolute dominance by their navy (the British Navy was to be at least equal the size of the navies of the next two most powerful naval forces). As a result, this was one of the substantial factors in the weakening of the international positions of Great Britain.

On the basis of his research, Kennedy highlights patterns which he sums up as follows: the appearance of new world trade routes, and changes in the "overall trade and production balance" change the positions held by a given country in the system of international relations. The shifting of trade flows from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the northern part of Europe, starting with the beginning of the 16th century, or the redistribution of the world industrial output to the detriment of Western Europe at the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th centuries, are cited in the book as clear examples of the effect of this law. In both cases, changes in the trade and economic correlation of forces heralded the appearance of new great powers which, one day, began to have a decisive impact on the military-territorial order as well.

Kennedy's conclusion is that it is possible to trace the connection between an economic upsurge and a decline of a country and its rise and fall as a great power or a global empire. This does not mean that relative economic and military power increases or is reduced at the same time and on a parallel basis. The majority of historical examples cited in the book indicate that there is a notable temporary gap between the trajectories followed by a relative economic power and its military-territorial influence. Characteristic features of powers which tempestuously developed from the economic viewpoint, such as Great Britain in the 1860s, the United States at the end of the 19th century and Japan today, are a low share of military expenditures of the gross national product (national income) and a low standard of militarism. In half a century, Kennedy writes, priorities may or could shift.

The system of coordinates within which the struggle and interaction among countries in the international arena have taken place substantially changed in the postwar period. The nuclear factor appeared along with the possibility of the total destruction of human civilization, which influenced many aspects of sociohistorical development and international relations as well as the assessment of the strength of the individual countries.

In discussing the position of the United States in the system of international relations in the 1980s and the feelings of the American political elite and the public, Kennedy writes: "It is important to note the striking similarity between an increasing sense of concern among the thinking circles in the United States, observed at the present time, and the moods which prevailed in the political parties of Great Britain during the reign of Edward VII.... Extensive debates take place within the national decision-making ruling circles and in the business and cultural-educational areas as to what should be done to regain the lost competitiveness."

Our present historical circumstances, Kennedy writes, are unique in the sense that America is not confronting any other power which has both a strong military and an economic potential. The USSR belongs to one of the categories and Japan to the other. However, there is no country which could challenge the United States the way Great Britain challenged the Netherlands in the 17th century or the United States and Germany challenged Great Britain at the turn of the 20th. This is accurate, if we consider the development of the role of the United States in the system of international relations on the basis of relatively traditional military-strategic and economic parameters. If we proceed from the fact that under the conditions of the "nuclear stalemate" and the approximate parity of the two sides on the level of general-purpose and conventional armament forces of the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the role of economic and other nonmilitary power factors (and non-military means of ensuring international safety) increases substantially, and the situation as it applied to the United States may appear entirely different.

Naturally, one could say that any straight analogy between the laws governing changes in the structure of international relations in the 17th and the second half of the 20th centuries are of relatively limited significance, however attractive and superficially clear they may seem to us. At the same time, however, we cannot do without such analogies, and Kennedy's book gives us food for consideration in the area of the problems he raises.

In the part dealing with the contemporary system of intergovernmental relations, in addition to the United States and the Soviet Union, Kennedy ascribes a significant place to the role played by the PRC, Japan, the leading Western European countries, and the European Economic Community (EEC).

Kennedy considers Soviet-U.S. relations as principal in global politics after World War II. He cites impressive figures on the gap in the mid-1970s between the United States and the USSR, on the one hand, and the three leading Western European countries (Great Britain, France, and the FRG) and the PRC and Japan, on the other, in terms of military expenditures, fleet tonnage, number of basic combat aircraft, etc., not to mention the superiority of the two great powers in the nuclear area. Nonetheless, according to Kennedy, the trends which developed between the 1960s and 1980s were of a nature which undermined the strict "bipolarity" of the system of intergovernmental relations, which developed in the 1940s and 1950s.

Kennedy considers the main processes in the contemporary system of intergovernmental relations as the following: the redistribution of the relative economic power is following a trend of relative weakening of the positions of the United States and the USSR and, of late, the EEC, and of strengthening those of Japan and China.

Like many other Western scientists, not without reason, the author believes that the main advantage of the United States, Western Europe and Japan over the USSR is the free circulation of information, free from the control of bureaucratic structures. Information and scientific and technical ideas are indeed becoming one of the decisive elements of power and of the strength of a given society and state, and underestimating their role is exceptionally near-sighted.

One of the main reasons for the declining importance of the United States and the USSR in global economics is, in his view, their reciprocal military rivalry. The share of military expenditures in the United States and, particularly, the USSR, greatly exceeds, according to him, this share in the three other power centers, Japan in particular. Kennedy links the significant acceleration of the economic growth of the PRC in the 1980s both to the results of the radical reforms implemented by the Chinese leadership as well as the reduction of military expenditures and in the size of armed forces in the course of the reform.

Although militarily, as in the past, there is a "bipolar" world ("...the United States and the USSR alone have the ability to destroy each other and to destroy any other country"), the erosion of this centripetal structure, in Kennedy's opinion, is noted in this area as well, for in the majority of cases the use of nuclear weapons as an instrument of policy is inapplicable.

Like many other authors before him, Kennedy reaches the conclusion that the contemporary system of international relations is clearly shifting from a bipolar structure, in which the United States and the USSR play a dominant role, to a multipolar system in which Japan, the PRC and Western Europe will play an increasing role. Will the new structure be more stable? One thing is

obvious: the appearing structure of international relations will be significantly more complex. It will demand of us a dynamic and refined foreign policy and a skillful diplomacy in the spirit of what is being developed in our country of late. In itself the conversion to a multipolar structure does not guarantee any higher level of stability of the international system or its controllability. However, with a joint and reciprocal implementation of the task of limiting armaments and engaging in disarmament, and efforts to eliminate regional political conflicts and solve global problems, it provides a broader field of activity for constructive creative action.

In considering the parameters which define the position of the USSR in the system of intergovernmental relations, Kennedy writes of the low efficiency of our agriculture, which forces the Soviet Union to be a net importer of grain and many other food products, and the problems related to introducing and applying the latest scientific and technical achievements in industry, agriculture and management. In his view, the general problems of scientific and technical and economic development of the Soviet Union, added to demographic problems, are influencing the military area ever more tangibly.

Many of the ideas discussed by Kennedy, pertaining to economic and social problems facing our country, coincide with a number of our own assessments, when we say that the distortions of Stalinism and the years of stagnation led our country to the verge of an economic crisis. Furthermore, today we speak more sharply and, above all, more profoundly about many problems, compared to Kennedy.

Thoughts on the destinies of great powers stimulate the consideration of our domestic and foreign policy problems in the context of changing intergovernmental relations and the fundamental changes which are taking place in global civilization as a whole. In no case could we allow ourselves any longer for obsolete ideological stereotypes and ambitions and obsolete obligations, which cost us tens of billions of rubles, to paralyze our foreign policy and diplomacy, weaken our economic potential and lead us astray from securing the true interests of our multinational socialist state.

The pivot of the new system of foreign policy priorities which is developing in the USSR shows an extremely clear orientation toward the creation of the most favorable conditions for solving the internal problems of our society: democratization, the creation of a state of law, political and economic reforms and accelerated scientific and technical development. Hence the requirement of lowering the cost of our foreign and defense policy—a policy of national security—so that it could be as fully consistent as possible with the “cost effectiveness” criterion, and the idea of sensible sufficiency, as formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

This requires an intellectual approach to political solutions and their implementation and the formulation and application of comprehensive and multidimensional systems concepts, concerning our interests, objectives and tasks, and multivariant ways and means for solving them, as well as concepts concerning accessible resources. The development and implementation of a new system of foreign policy priorities of the USSR is not the exclusive concern of a small circle of experts and politicians. It must include a knowledgeable public opinion in our country which, unfortunately, is only beginning to take shape.

The system of foreign policy priorities of the USSR, which existed until recently, took shape essentially in the last years of World War II. It was subject to modifications in the 1950s and beginning of 1960s, when major changes took place in our country (the 20th CPSU Congress) and in international relations (above all the growth of the national liberation movement and decolonization).

The efforts made by the USSR to attain an overall military-strategic balance (parity) with the United States not only gave us a high standard of military security but was the almost decisive factor in the devaluation of military strength along the main axle of global politics and the growth of the variety of various nonmilitary power factors. However, of late it was not we but other countries which benefited from this to a greater extent. Some of the major changes which occurred in the world since then were completing the process of the national liberation movement in the traditional understanding of this concept, and a substantial change in the nature of conflicts and wars in the third world, most of which are not directly related to the confrontation between socialism and capitalism.

Today our country clearly needs the greatest possible change in the system of foreign policy priorities in the entire postwar period.

The success or failure of perestroika is a question of whether or not we shall be able to preserve our socialist state, the first in the world, as a great power or else find ourselves on the margin of history, weakened furthermore, considering the adverse trends which are bound to increase should our economic and political reform stop midway.

Currently we are given an almost last chance of retaining our position as a great power and reorganizing this position on a new basis, in accordance with new parameters, above all by relying on socioeconomic, legal, cultural and spiritual components.

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For a Joint International Strategy of the Trade Union Movement

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[Interview with Ibragim Zakariya, secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions]

[Text] The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) is the largest international trade union organization, with headquarters in Prague. It includes 92 national trade union associations in 85 countries—capitalist, developing and socialist—totaling 214 million members of this prestigious organization of the working class. KOMMUNIST special correspondent N. Yermoshkin asked Ibragim Zakariya, secretary general of the WFTU, to describe its activities, problems and difficulties. Following are the highlights of this interview.

What are the problems which are being solved by the Federation today? What is of particular interest and concern in our complex, varied yet interdependent world?

According to the bylaws, briefly, the objective of the WFTU is to protect the interests of the working people and to organize the common struggle waged by the trade unions against any encroachments on the economic and social rights of the working people, the organization of trade union training, and the struggle against war and the reasons leading to it. Today, when we notice the comprehensive growth of the internationalization of capital, particularly in its most advanced form—the multinational corporations—the significance of our work has increased substantially, for we can and must counter the united front of capital with our own unity.

The practical activities of the federation are aimed at the struggle for the socioeconomic and democratic rights of the working people, national independence, peace and international security, and disarmament, and against imperialism and all forms of colonialism and racism. The WFTU pays constant attention to problems of ensuring employment, maintaining the material living standards of the working people, reducing the length of the working day, improving working and living conditions, and providing social guarantees in cases of unemployment, illness and labor accidents and old age. These are the most pressing problems. Based on the data of the 75th Session of the General Confederation of the International Labor Organization (MOT), which was held in June 1988, there are 100 million unemployed in the world; in the West alone there are 30 million; 500 million people hold partial jobs and 900 million live under conditions of extreme poverty.

The WFTU has always actively participated in the activities of the progressive forces on the planet, which have favored the peace and security of the nations. Its protest against the apartheid system in South Africa, support of the just struggle waged by the Lebanese and

Palestinian peoples, the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and in defense of the gains of the working people of Nicaragua and Panama met with a broad response.

One of the most confused problems, actively discussed within the trade union movement is the attitude of the Western trade unions toward disarmament. It is frequently claimed that reducing armaments would result in significant job losses and would only damage the interests of the working people. Is this the case?

Never before has the satisfaction of economic and social demands of the people been so closely related to opposition to the arms race and militarism and the struggle for peace and disarmament. Every year resources assessed at \$1 trillion are diverted into armaments. This is an amount roughly equal to the total foreign debt of the developing countries and considerably exceeds their combined GNP.

The use for evil purposes of the achievements of science and the latest technologies and for military purposes and for establishing economic superiority deprive society of the benefits on which it could rely as of now. Inventions are being applied not to facilitate human labor but for the sake of extracting higher profits.

We believe that the alternative to the arms race, promoted by the trade union movement, could restore the jobs of millions of people and put an end to the contemporary crisis and the tremendous waste of human and material potential. Our organization systematically favors the conclusion of international agreements which would stop and turn back the arms race. The WFTU submitted a specific suggestion at the second special session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1982 on steps leading to a 10 percent reduction of armament expenditures. The adoption of this suggestion would release considerable funds which could be used as productive capital investments.

Our Federation has made a new contribution to the work of the recently held Third Special U.N. General Assembly Session on Disarmament. We spoke out in favor of creating a world fund from disarmament savings. Such a fund should be used only for social needs and development, with the mandatory participation of the trade unions. Our organization expressed its total disagreement with the further intensification of the arms race, emphasizing that outer space must be free from nuclear weapons. In order to strengthen security in the world we need not the strategy of "Star Wars" but a strategy of creating jobs, a strategy for the struggle against poverty and, as is demanded by the peace-loving forces on all continents, a strategy of comprehensive international security, based on the friendship and cooperation among nations and peoples.

I am convinced that the peoples on our planet can produce a sufficient amount of food. On its surface, under it and in the oceanic depths, the earth contains immeasurable reserves of minerals needed for the functioning and development of the economy. A number of sources of energy exist—solar, sea, atomic, coal, petroleum and others—which man could put to use.

In addition to everything else, the people on earth, men and women, have the talent, intellect and different cultures and knowledge which, passed on from generation to generation, have made possible the headlong progress of science and technology, putting at the disposal of mankind, this very century, tremendous resources. They could be used as the "building blocks" for erecting the structure of the future free society, a society of democracy and social progress. Yes, there is on earth everything necessary to make people happy and to provide a good life for everyone.

However, reality is quite different. Hunger and poverty in third world countries, unemployment and partial employment, disease and illiteracy are clear confirmations of the social and economic groundlessness of capitalism and of the violation of basic human rights.

In capitalist society the distribution of newly created values is essentially in terms of the wages paid to hired labor or profits on invested capital. The ideologues of capitalism claim that everyone receives his "just share" on the basis of labor or monetary outlays, although we know that the owners of capital appropriate as profits and interest the added value created by the working people. In this case there can be no question of any kind of justice. Has anything essentially changed compared with the past?

No. As in the past, the working people must stubbornly struggle for wages to be sufficient to ensure the reproduction of the manpower and for the possibility of continued employment. Furthermore, scientific and technical progress is formulating its rigid requirements to them. I claim that the extent of exploitation of labor by capital has increased significantly. Entire countries and peoples have become targets of exploitation by the imperialist centers. The extraction of natural and human resources from the developing countries as a result of their exploitation by multinational corporations and banks is assessed at \$200 billion annually. In recent years a further intensification of neocolonial exploitation has taken place. In the past 10 years alone profits extracted by the United States from the third world have exceed invested capital by a factor of 5. In Latin America and the Caribbean, U.S. profits exceed capital investments by a factor of 8. The gap between the levels of development of the liberated and developed capitalist countries has widened, as a result of which, at the start of the 1980s per capita income in the developing countries was already lower by a factor of 11 compared to that in the developed capitalist states.

With the strengthening of the positions of financial capital and its institutions and financial machinations on the market replacing production, such negative aspects become even more obvious. A theory was even formulated in the mid-1980s, according to which allegedly shifting capital and exchange rates and credits have replaced the movement of commodities and services as a catalyst in the global economy.

The scandals on Wall Street, as a result of which big dealers were jailed for illegal deals involving millions of dollars, revealed the real danger of financial speculations affecting the economies of the developed capitalist countries. The corruption of the exploiting system is also confirmed by the fact that in the United States, between 1979 and 1985, some \$700 billion was spent exclusively on the merger of companies and the takeover of one company by another. Such huge funds have not created a single new job or led to the enhancement of economic life. Conversely, as a result of the meaningless redeployment of funds on the part of those who purchase enterprises for speculative purposes, a large number of jobs were lost.

Under the conditions in which the military industrial complex of the United States forces every American to pay annually \$920 for military budget expenditures, the economic security of the working people cannot remain unaffected. This is a total distortion of national economic priorities and a tremendous waste.

The policy of the multinational corporations, which shift their capitals throughout the world and use their funds not for production but for speculative deals, has become an essential factor in the growth of unemployment in the industrialized capitalist countries. It is my deep conviction that attempts to solve economic problems at the expense of the working people are a threat to human rights.

Today everyone acknowledges that we are dealing with new phenomena in the development of capitalism. A reserve of strength of this system and its maneuvering ability have been found to be substantially greater than was imagined in the past. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the profound social changes it has caused, the nature of the mass base of the trade unions changes as well. Nonetheless, in recent years, as you already noted, the extent of exploitation has increased significantly. In this connection, what difficulties have been encountered by the WFTU and how is it surmounting them?

Indeed the trade union movement in the developed Western capitalist countries is facing difficult problems. The number of our organizations is diminishing. The overall popularity of the trade union is declining and so are the activities of the rank-and-file membership, and so on. Briefly, life is formulating problems which require a deep interpretation and a clear definition of positions. They include the so-called "employment crisis," changes

in the social structure of trade union associations, the dissemination of new forms of the utilization of hired labor and the internationalization of hiring.

Economic and sociopolitical bourgeois publications, the Western press and statements by political leaders relate the declined size of trade union ranks above all to the mass expulsion of the manpower from public production by means of automation and, of late, robots. Pessimistic feelings have gained the upper hand among a certain segment of trade union leaders as well, for if such is precisely the case, they say, it is indeed true that the trade union movement has no future: the creation of a "technocratic society," in which productive toil based on universal economic need will become the privilege of a few, is not too distant.

However, all of this must be considered in perspective. According to World Environment and Development Commission data, economic activities today have assumed such a large scope that the cost of the volume of output in the global economy has reached \$13 trillion and, in the next half a century, could increase by a factor of 5 or 10. The volume of industrial output in the past 100 years has increased by a factor of more than 50, and four-fifths of this growth have occurred after the 1950s. Today large-scale technological changes are taking place in the industrially developed capitalist countries, the consequences of which are being studied. Although in some sectors the need for manpower has changed, it is clear that the working class will not "vanish." The trade unions must adapt to changes in the structure of the working class.

It is necessary, in this connection, to analyze the ideological offensive mounted by the capitalist class against the working people and the trade unions in order to expose the true nature of the crisis and the reasons for unemployment and structural violations. It is being claimed, for example, that as wages rise and labor conditions improve, as a direct result of trade union activities, the working class is already enhancing its social status. Reference is made, for example, to the fact that an increasing number of people are owners of shares in the industrially developed capitalist countries. Thus, at the start of 1988 there were 47 million such stockholders in those countries, one out of three adults in the United States, one out of five in France, etc.

In reality, such an extensive participation of small investors in the stock market is the result of the organized activities of the big banks and their aspiration to combine the small savings of the working people and, particularly, of the substantial deposits in social security funds. The largest investors in the stock markets are "pension funds," i.e., funds deposited to meet the needs of future social security of the working people but which today are being handled by the banks and which, together with the

banks, are controlled by the trade unions. "Pension funds" suffered major losses during the stock market crisis which shook up the largest capitalist countries in October of last year.

The trade union movement is particularly extensively discussing the policy of "privatization." Its supporters are trying to promote the illusion that the interests of the public are being protected most reliably by the capitalist monopolies. However, the working people cannot fail to see that despite the mass "diversification" of stocks, economic decisions are being made only by a small group of financial bosses who own no more than 10 percent of the capital of "their own" enterprises. That is why the demand for real participation in economic decision-making on all levels is becoming a main feature in the struggle waged by the trade unions for a democratic alternative.

I have cited only two areas of the search for antilabor solutions in which monopoly capital is engaged. However, a number of covert attacks on the trade union movement are also being launched. For that reason the transformation of the various categories of working people into a major social force will greatly depend on the extent to which the trade union organizations will be able to take into consideration their specific interests and special status. No less important, however, is the ability to combine the demands of the individual categories of working people with the general demands and the search for slogans and objectives affecting all working people. This includes objectives of noneconomic nature as well.

The job needs and interests of the working people are exceeding production boundaries and are being limited to purely economic living conditions less and less. This is clearly confirmed by the mass nature of antiwar actions, movements for environmental protection, and the struggle against national-ethnic and racial discrimination.

In addition to the fact that the very foundation of the trade union movement will rest on the basic economic interests of people who are already employed, today the social function of the trade unions, as a guarantor of employment, is assuming a notable position.

Officially, many national detachments in the trade union movement have been able to broaden their rights in controlling the installation of new equipment. Under the pressure of the trade unions a number of governments were forced to pass legislation on the development of systems for vocational training and retraining. Of late "technological agreements" on the level of individual companies have become widespread. They presume specific (as a rule, limited) guarantees of employment, professional retraining, and financial compensation for job losses.

Finally, in some areas the demands of the trade unions on reducing the length of the regulation working time have been partially satisfied (through legislation or collective contracts).

Nonetheless, despite these successes, the stabilization of employment in general and trade union membership in particular have not been achieved. Unemployment amounts to 11 percent in Western Europe and about 6 percent in the United States. A clear trend of limiting the growth of wage rates has been noted. Obviously, the main reason is that the task of preserving employment can no longer be implemented within the limits of individual companies or on a regional scale.

The internationalization of capitalist production is progressing at such a headlong pace that many problems of the struggle waged by the working people are objectively becoming ever more difficult to resolve by individual countries. The establishment of a unified manpower hiring system by huge international monopoly associations demands the development of a joint international strategy by the trade union movement and new and truly global thinking and nontraditional forms of common action.

What is the reaction of the organizations within the WFTU to the processes occurring in our country, which we describe as "perestroika?"

The changes and discussions in the socialist countries concerning their accelerated socioeconomic development are drawing the attention of working people, trade union leaders and activists. The working people cannot fail to notice that along with appeals to raise the national economy to essentially new scientific and technical and organizational levels and switch it to the track of intensive growth, the programmatic documents of a number of socialist countries emphasize the need to enhance the role of the human factor.

By putting their own house in order, the socialist countries are strengthening their political influence and the reputation of the progressive forces. Global socialism is once again asserting itself as the motive force of civilization. It is demonstrating its capacity for renovation and for ensuring the social protection of the working people and freedom from exploitation, and is making a major contribution to the establishment of equality among people.

The resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the proceedings of which we followed with tremendous interest, include the following strategic objectives: development of socialist self-management through the further involvement of the citizens in the implementation of governmental and social tasks; perfecting the electoral system; upgrading the activeness of elected authorities; broadening the role of the trade unions and other mass organizations, and the efficient use of other forms of direct representative democracy. The aspiration

toward truthfulness, self-purification, and development of criticism and self-criticism have drastically enhanced the overall tonality of political life in your country. Democratic processes in production management are intensifying and an offensive has been mounted against obsolete structures and stagnation phenomena.

Glasnost, acceleration and perestroika are slogans which have become widely familiar and popular even beyond the USSR. However, they are particularly important from the viewpoint of what they could contribute, thanks to the energy which they release and the new ideas and accomplishments which they have initiated. Furthermore, something which is perhaps, in our view, the most noteworthy, is that all such changes are taking place in your country not at the expense of the people but for the sake of their welfare. This is very difficult but it is right. As a result of perestroika, the way I see it, the political system of Soviet society is rejecting anything related to bureaucratism and the alienation of the working people from the system. Socialism is making its opportunities clearer.

The experience of the socialist countries proves that one of the most important distinguishing features along their way is the acknowledgment that the working people—thinking and acting creatively—are the most valuable social resource. This factor determines the growing role of the trade unions under socialism, as they actively participate in the processes of development and economic management.

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On the European Idea

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[Review by D. Proektor, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Yevropeyskaya Ideya v Istorii" [The European Idea in History]. Problems of war and peace. By A.O. Chubaryan. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1987, 352 pp.]

[Text] Is there a "European idea?" The answer to this question appears difficult, for it is hardly possible to imagine the existence in the contemporary world of any kind of unified separate "continental" idea, such as American or Asian. Nonetheless, if we think about it and approach the problem on a broad basis, even on the scale of an entire continent, particularly such a compact one, saturated with nations which have lived close to each other for millennia, a profound commonality exists, naturally with its own specifics.

Today different interpretations are given to the European idea. A large number of people in the West have long considered it only as being a Western European unity based on the principles of the Common Market.

The aspiration toward such unity is one of the basic and constant priorities in European Atlantic relations. Clearly, it will be given a new impetus after 1992.

In our view, the European idea is something different. We consider Europe part of a single integral world and all countries within it as elements of a single interrelated Europe. The acknowledgment of the integrity and interdependence and the aspiration to both from the Atlantic to the Urals, prevailing over division and confrontation, are the foundations of the European idea today.

Another one of its elements is the elimination of the military confrontation. History has turned our lands into divided areas oversaturated with means of mass destruction. If we believe in the European idea, we must acknowledge that the monstrous weapons with which Europe is crowded are by no means an instrument of war but a policy materialized in annihilating metal. It was born in the course of 20th century history with its two world wars and the Cold War, the center of which, once again, was our land, with its scientific and technical and military-technical revolutions. This entire stream of tragic events of the century has already led to a limit beyond which there should be a drop into the valley of disarmament and the stability of peace.

The establishment of a unified and interrelated global community, which is beginning to take shape under our very eyes, includes Europe. In all likelihood, this must be manifested in the gradual conversion from the armed confrontation between blocs on the continent to a political balance through the gradual demilitarization of bloc structures, including their future elimination, replaced by a new, a comprehensive security system. The unclear outlines of this, understandable today, should in no way be used as a reason for skepticism concerning the possibility of its implementation within the foreseeable future. The implementation of the INF Treaty could mark the beginning of a gradual change in the architecture of European security on precisely this basis. In addition to everything else, here as well it is obvious that the European idea can be manifested in its highest aspect.

These thoughts were triggered by the publication of a fundamental study of the European idea through history. The work is interesting above all because it is a first of its kind in our domestic historiography to provide a comprehensive study of the nature, continuity and significance of the phenomenon known as the European idea. The author writes that "...The 'idea of Europe' is an attitude toward Europe as a specific community and its consideration on the basis of its internal unity and features distinguishing it from the other parts of the world. This premise alone makes clear the comprehensive nature of the European idea." He also writes that "the history of the European idea is a history of the shaping of European theories and views but also a history of attempts at the practical implementation of such theories" (pp 3, 4).

The study is based on extensive historical materials, which has made it possible to describe quite convincingly the specific nature of the topic. Unlike many other works on Europe, the author did not limit himself to the study of individual albeit important states or events related to European problems, but encompasses a broad historical panorama from antiquity to the present. It is precisely this type of approach to a scientific-theoretical topic that obviously is the most efficient and truly scientific today. All too long, by virtue of a number of reasons, we dealt essentially with specific historical problems, as though fearing major generalizations.

The book under review takes us back to the historiography of the "broad scope," to the traditions of our historical school according to which basic works are written not by large collectives which, naturally, is also quite important, but by a single scientist. This gives the scientist the priceless opportunity to pursue, from beginning to end, his own uniform concept, although it requires special efforts, the consequence of which is length of time.

The book is made interesting and instructive by the specific data it contains. We are familiar with many of its aspects and not with all. Nonetheless, we feel, having read it, that we have become enriched with new information. In our century of excess information, not every author can achieve this.

The author analyzes the development of the European idea after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in connection with the proclamation and further intensification of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In assessing the changed nature of this idea under the influence of the radical changes which occurred in the world after 1917, he writes that "we are emphasizing such problems in order to support yet once again, on a broad basis, the European idea that the approach to Europe as a community is not related exclusively to specific plans for the unification of Europe but presumes a broader context, turning to the fate of the continent as a whole and to its past and its future. This aspect can be noted particularly clearly in the discussion of the problems of war and peace and the nature of and prospects for peace in Europe" (p 225).

We consider essential the thoughts expressed by the author on the trends toward Europeanism under contemporary conditions. This question is considered above all in connection with the integration processes which are taking place in the socialist and the capitalist parts of Europe. The main stages in the shaping of integrated communities and their mechanisms are analyzed thoroughly. Nonetheless, it is quite accurate, from our viewpoint, to emphasize also the limits of integration, determined by the aspiration of the European nations to preserve and strengthen their separate national statehood.

The author analyzes in detail the views of the enlighteners from the 17th to the beginning of the 19th centuries. Unfortunately, there is virtually no specific study of the views and works of the contemporary theoreticians of Europeanism in the socialist countries and the West. Yet after World War II, particularly the 1960s to the 1980s, major scientific schools were developed to study the problems of Europe, including from the viewpoint of problems considered in Chubaryan's book. A tremendous number of works have been published and continue to be published, in which the European idea and the future of the continent are being studied from a great variety of views. The study of the basic trends in contemporary scientific schools dealing with Europeanism and the assessment of their role in shaping the features of Europe and its political picture between two centuries would enhance even further the scientific value of this work.

As a whole, the work under review offers a great deal of food for thought in terms of the contemporary safety of Europe, related to the history and interpretation of the European idea today. The Soviet concept of European security is distinguished, as we know, by the fact that we consider military-political efforts to strengthen defense for the sake of preserving the balance not to be its decisive element but to be subordinated to the political course drafted by the party and the Soviet state, aimed at the assertion of the new political thinking and new philosophy and practical actions under the conditions governing the contemporary interrelated and integral world. Therefore, our contemporary concept of the European idea is consistent, above all, with the constructive domestic policy of socialism and a foreign policy oriented toward ensuring universal peace, disarmament and cooperation.

It is also a question of acknowledging the historically transient nature of bloc confrontation and the need for the physical elimination of the material foundations which, more than anything else, threaten our continent, i.e., of the most dangerous and destructive weapons. We proceed from the idea of security for all, and the unification of all countries and peoples of Europe for the sake of survival and peace. This also includes the "European idea of today," an idea which calls for the building of a common European home and which is meeting with growing support in all areas of our continent. Essentially, this means that the Europeans can protect Europe and make it better and safer only by acting jointly, collectively. We were, are and will always remain Europeans. This is our destiny. We must maintain good relations with all European countries without any exception, and with the future integrated Western Europe.

The new political thinking concerning the unity of Europe is found in the understanding of the new realities which have developed on the continent. The importance of this unity is greater than ever.

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Chronicle. Meetings With the Editors
18020005s Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 17,
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[Text] A roundtable meeting was held in the editorial premises of *KOMMUNIST* in Moscow on 15-16 November 1988 on problems of contradictions and motive forces in socialist society. The roundtable meeting was attended by representatives of the theoretical and political journals *EINHEIT* (SED), *NOVO VREME* (BCP) and *TARSADALMI SZEMLE* (MSZMP). In addition to *KOMMUNIST* editors and associates, Soviet representatives included scientists from the AON, ION, the CPSU Central Committee IML and institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The editors were visited by Ha Xuan Chiong, editor-in-chief of *TAPTI KONGSHAN*, journal of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, and Tho Xyu Khan, head of the journal's economic department. They discussed the plan for the further development of cooperation between the two fraternal journals and problems of restructuring of various areas of life in the USSR and Vietnam. The talks were also attended by Nguyen Manh Cam, Vietnamese ambassador to the Soviet Union. The Vietnamese friends were informed of the research work done by the CPSU Central Committee IML and the USSR Academy of Sciences IEMSS, and visited Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine.

A delegation of the Greek Communist Party, headed by D. Androulakis, Greek Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, studied the work of the journal and showed particular interest in the participation of *KOMMUNIST* in work on the theory of socialism and dissemination of the practices of socialist renovation in all areas of life of Soviet society, taking international experience into consideration.

The editors were visited by Bruno Peloso, director of Editori Riuniti, the publishing house of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee. The Italian guest studied the work of *KOMMUNIST* in covering the processes of perestroika in the country.

The editors were visited by J.-L. Servant-Schreibert, head of the largest French publishing group in the areas of business and finance. Various aspects of the economic reform in the USSR were discussed in the course of the talk.

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